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Woman, Utopia and Ideology: A Case Study in Sociology of Knowledge

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WOMAN, UTOPIA AND IDEOLOGY: A CASE STUDY IN SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE

BY

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ABSTRACT

This study utilizes the perspective of the sociology of knowledge to examine the interrelationships between the characterization of woman in the utopian genre and attitudes toward woman in those Western societies where this literary form flourished. The history of the genre from early Greece to the present century traces interconnections and dependencies of form and intent. In chronicling the sociology of utopia, this study describes and analyzes the process by which utopian literature may be seen as a reflexive critique of the society which produced it. Examples from selected literary works place characterizations of woman and role into social and historical context. Mythic elements link the genre to ancient roots and give evidence of latent misogyny. The relationship between dualism and orthodoxy is explored with respect to the relative position of woman in the Western world. Topics for further study are advanced.

In memory of my mother and father, and

to JSB.

Nullum est iam dictum, quod non sit dictum prius.

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PREFACE

Although my interest in utopias and utopian thought is of long duration, the first discussion of the project which ultimately became this thesis took place in 1975 during my freshman class in introductory sociology. The acquisition of an undergraduate education took precedence, however, and this necessitated that the project be postponed for the interim. At the beginning of my graduate studies in sociology utopia surfaced again, this time the subject was wedded to a newly developed interest in sexual inequality. The extraordinary compatibility of these two topics led to the work which follows.

It goes almost without mention that the ideas and exegeses contained in this thesis did not arise ex nihilo but represent years of research by scholars from many disciplines. It has been my good fortune to place them in juxtaposition in an effort to elucidate my findings. In an attempt to free the text from the intrusion of the necessary citations to those with whose work I have integrated my own, I have chosen to place all citations in the Notes which follow the body of the text.

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INTRODUCTION

The Western world has produced more utopian literature than any other tradition. Its form and style have survived intact for nearly three millennia. Today the body of utopian literature is estimated to contain between three thousand and five thousand works which may be defined as utopian[1].

A concomitant phenomenon which emerged close upon the heels of the first utopian work was that of its criticism[2]. Current analyses and critiques of the genre are informed by a variety of perspectives. The works may be seen as a unique expression of an individual imagination[3], as an expression of a world view projected by an individual from those experiences gleaned in a particular place and time[4], or as a visionary possibility for a more satisfying future for humanity[5].

Classic and historic utopian literature provides the opportunity to explore a uniquely revealing index of, and challenge to, the social order prevailing at the time that the work was written. It offers a reflexive image of the ills present in those societies as well as providing prescriptions for their eradication. By chronicling the everyday lives of the utopian inhabitants, utopian liter-

ature offers the depiction of idealized interaction as well as a detailed description of the superstructure which shapes and informs that social action.

Utopian criticism, throughout its long history, concentrated on those elements of importance to those various informed perspectives. To date, unfortunately, the characterization of woman in these critiques of the idealized society has been little emphasized[6]. The relative unimportance of woman as a social actor in utopian literary criticism is one which the following attempts to reassess and define. Through the perspective of the sociology of knowledge, the social and historical influences which gave impetus to the utopian depiction of woman will be illuminated and analyzed. Tracing patterns in the utopian tradition through time and space, this study will emphasize the role which utopia played in the subordination of woman in the Western world.

CHAPTER ONE

LOOKING BACKWARD

Utopian thought is not the exclusive invention of the Western world. Taoist, Buddhist and Muslim philosophical works are impregnated with utopian elements[1]. Anthropological literature abounds with stories which may be defined as utopian[2]. It is solely in the Western tradition, nonetheless, that the tension between the ideal and its real world counterpart is recognized as the dynamic force which erupts periodically in that literary manifestation which has come to be known as a utopia.

The paths to utopia are as varied as the searchers. However, the form which that search takes has been a stylized constant from its ancient roots. A "traveller" becomes lost or shipwrecked on the shores of an uncharted, unknown island inhabited by "strangers" whose life situations are different from, and superior to, that of the wayward traveller. The traveller is escorted throughout the island and all social relations are explained to her or him by a wise and knowledgeable, member of that society.

In keeping with the notion of utopia as an idealized or "natural" state of humankind, the inhabitants exhibit only those traits which lead to cooperation and consensus while conflict-arousing traits such as aggression are conspicuously absent. In the later utopias, written after the earth had been effectively explored and mapped, the traveller metamorphosed into a "sleeper" who awakened into a future time where all the ills which had plagued his own time had been effectively eradicated or contained. Each utopia may be studied as a reflection of the specific crises which it attempted to resolve[3]. For although the idealized societies were purported to be unbelievably different from those of the travellers/sleepers, in reality, each of the societies mirrored, more or less, that of its author.

The use of the masculine pronoun above is not a linguistic device, for the travellers/sleepers of utopian fame were almost all portrayed as male. Most of the savants, as well, were male[4]. The history of the utopian genre, is, to all intents and purposes, the story of man. Written by man, written for man, it should not be surprising that when the mirror of utopian social criticism is held up that its reflections are primarily of man[5]. Threading its way throughout all of utopian literature, the relative invisibility of woman as social actor is an undeniable, if discouraging, constant.

Perhaps the fate of the genre would have been

decidedly different had Thomas More chosen a more mundane title for his little book. In a letter to his good friend Erasmus[6], More transliterated the Greek negative, "ou", into the Latin "u", and combining it with the Greek word "topos", that is, place, he constructed a literate play on words in the naming of his island paradise. Utopia was No-Place. He then continued his joke by having this island's poet laureate praise the homeland, Eutopia, the Good-Place. Throughout the history of utopia, this tradition of a complex nomenclature has been preserved by those who followed in More's utopian pathway[7]. Today there are not only utopias and eutopias but eupsychias (ideal states of consciousness), euchronias (good times in the future), and dystopias or antiutopias (places not ideal or good where nobody wants to live).

The development of antiutopias paralleled the development of utopia. The dialectical nature of the utopian genre lends itself as easily to the support of the status quo as it does to revolutionary criticism, for there must be as many utopias as there are dreamers and for every positive image there exists its negative. For example, Aristophanes' dystopic The Parliament of Women was contemporary with Plato's utopian Republic[8]. As may be expected, Aristotle was one of the first to argue that theoretical political proposals, for such are utopias

disguised in the cloak of literary genre, demanded an objective critical examination[9]. It was not until the era of the utopian socialists, however, that utopia's potential for revolutionary change accorded the genre the attention that it so richly deserved.

Travelling through time and space, the subjective meanings which came to be associated with utopia shifted and blurred. Utopia could always be used either positively or pejoratively[10]. Those who looked forward to a time of peace, harmony and prosperity were derisively labelled utopian. Soon the label came to be applied to any scheme which appeared at the outset to lack a sound basis in reality. Those whose philosophy deviated from the dominant philosophy of the time were termed utopian thinkers and their ideas were given less attention than they might otherwise have been accorded.

In time, the literary utopia gave birth to the discursive utopia wherein the idealized state was presumed to be one which was not only attainable, but also preferable, to that where the author was presently residing. These political utopias were solidly grounded in social reality, that is, they sprang both mentally and physically from the social and historical polity. For thinkers such as Fourier, Condorcet and Owen, the possibility of creating the ideal society became an all-encompassing, if elusive, dream. Their utopian writings inspired those

who recognized that the existing order was one which required restructuring to secure a more equitable life-style for the majority of citizens. These applied utopistes strove to create the perfect society, raise the perfect citizen, and offer an example so strenuously superior to the norm that people would voluntarily choose it above any other socially structured situation. The utopian socialists founded many communities where the goals and schemes of the ideal state were seriously translated into communities of idealistic utopian followers.

It is to these utopians that Marx refers in his attempt to free himself from the label of applied utopian[11]. More's little joke to Erasmus grew out of proportion when it became associated with one of the most important revolutionary social movements to date.

> The vision of perfection was henceforward either disfigured or enhanced by the path to utopia. When utopia became attached to global philosophies of history, practitioners of that form of knowledge were turned into unwitting utopians or antiutopians as they prognosticated the ineluctable end toward which mankind was moving[12].

Marx felt that his type of socialism was not chimerical and elusive as were their utopian dreams. His visionary scheme for the unfolding of the ideal state was one that was unique in that it was attainable.

Often utopian literature is linked to satire[13] since the two are thought to have stemmed from the Saturnalia.

They are viewed as a duality with utopia as the positive aspect of social criticism and satire as the negative exposition of social pathology. It is sometimes difficult to determine into which category a piece of controversial work should be placed. In Swift's discussion of the social relations between the rational Houyhnhnm and the brutish Yahoos in Gulliver's Travels, for example, the utopian elements are shadowed by the accusations being subtly levelled against Swift's England[14]. This work is thought by many scholars to be among Swift's better literary offerings despite the difficulty of its placement. Another satirist/utopiste who fared less well critically is the Duchess of Newcastle, Margaret Cavendish, whose satirical piece on the England of her time did little but help to earn her a reputation as a madwoman[15]. While the animal inhabitants of Cavendish's fantasy are held in derision by utopian scholars of note[16], those Yahoos who inhabit the Swiftian interpretation of England are seen as brilliant caricatures by these same critics. Perhaps it is simply due to the unfortunate literary decision of choosing an "irrational" female hero[ine] rather than a "rational" male hero which led to the unfavorable criticism. In any event, the ties between satire and utopia are so close that they would seem to be inseparable.

The tendency of Western society to search for the ideal, which has been called the "utopian propensity"[17], has

roots which trace to the earliest extant writings from ancient Greece. The myth of the "Golden Age of Kronos", that time when a golden race inhabited a world free of evil, is part of the mythic substrata which support the notion of utopia as a Good-Place which existed prior to the present time and may be regained by a return to the "natural" state of humankind. The notion of the promised "heaven on earth" of the Judeo-Christian heritage lends itself to the idea of utopia as existing in the future after humankind has atoned for the shortcomings of its forebears. This recreation of the Garden of Eden is closely related to the Eastern vision of paradise as existing on a "Blessed Isle" insulated from the rest of humankind[18]. By comparison, the Celtic myth of the Blessed Isle stressed that the ideal society had existed, and may still exist, to the West of Ireland[19].

The origins of these similar myths are shrouded by the haze of prehistory, perhaps awaiting discovery in archaeological ruins or in currently undecipherable hieroglyphic literature, perhaps forever lost in the corridors of time. Despite their elusive moorings these myths have, nevertheless, syncretized into the most powerful current of the utopian pathways, namely, the search for the ultimate perfection of humankind.

Two other themes contribute greatly to the mythological substrata of utopia. The concept of the "Ideal City",

which was found in the Greco-Roman tradition of utopia[20], seems to be the precursor of the conceptualization of economies of scale. Its greatest influence seems to have been in shaping the collective unconscious of generations of community planners who sought beauty and peace through regularity and systemization. The "Metallic Stages" of mankind compose the second theme that influenced the development of utopian thought. Man's devolution from the Golden, or perfect, Stage to the Iron, or current, Stage, was chronicled in Hesiod's Works and Days about 700 b.c.[21]. It is felt that these four metallic stages of mankind may have been assimilated from the Eastern mythic structure through acculturation. Later, in Republic, Plato utilized the symbolism of the metallic stages to legitimate his hierarchical social structure with connotations of the perfectability of mankind. The imposed states of superordination and subordination are thereby invested with the mythic and the sacred. These metallic stages with their metallic men have contributed much to the further development of utopian thought. After Plato, it was a comparatively simple process for the Golden Stage to evolve into the Golden Age, the most powerful mythic force in the utopian genesis.

The tension between the past and the future is a constant in the utopian genre. The present, reality in the narrow sense, is never the topic of utopian fancy. Rather,

it is the preoccupation with the future, when viewed subjectively through the past, that gives the genre its special quality. It is like a time continuum with the Golden Age on one side and the Milennial Age on the other side. Looking backward or looking forward, then, is infinitely more delightful than looking at today.

Yet the whole of the utopian premise as a literary construction is based on the social-historical elements of the present. Although the problems which are addressed in utopia may be viewed as ahistorical, the resolution of inherent conflict is grounded in the motherland of the author. In their time, utopias have attempted to resolve all of the cultural difficulties surrounding the drives and desires of humankind. The institutions of human society have been poked, prodded, or transformed to suit the whim of the utopian fancy and the demands of the utopian superstructure. Sex, love, family, education, religion, politics, economics and the attendant excesses of pride, lust, anger and sloth have been held up for examination in the most minute way the better to exorcise those vestiges of the "shadow" societies of the real world from which they sprang.

One of the most interesting aspects of utopianism and its effects on society may be seen in the works of Bruegel. His paintings of the peasantry are sometimes viewed as the result of individual animosity or class

consciousness[22]. Viewed as a fanciful interpretation in the spirit of utopia, however, they represent visual counterparts to the peasant utopia of Cokaygne[23]. His painting of Cokaygne, "Schlaraffenland", done in 1567, gives vivid illustration to this greatest of utopias in the oral tradition.

The shape of utopia is always an image of desire, that is, it is continually based on things that somebody actually wants[24]. Utopia fulfills the needs of the class from which it sprang and for which it flourished. Literate utopias expressed the desires of the upper stratum of society while utopias in the oral tradition expressed the needs of the subordinate strata who were illiterate. In a hierarchy of needs[25], those in the lower classes most prominently display a desire for the satisfaction of basic biological needs. For strata less close to the hand-to-mouth existence of the majority of humankind, those needs may be attenuated and replaced by those infinitely more grandiose and entirely socially determined.

In the effort to analyze the body of utopian works, numerous techniques have been applied. The most simple, and perhaps the dearest to the hearts of literate and linear Western thinkers, is the dualistic or dichotomous analysis. Works are arranged in order of a positive characteristic and its negative counterpart such that the two categories are mutually exclusive and antithetical.

Critical analyses of this type interpret variation in terms of the tensions between the two opposing characteristics. Some common examination of this type revolved around the differences between religious versus secular, static versus dynamic, preindustrial versus industrial, rural versus urban and egalitarian versus hierarchical utopias. This bifurcation on only one characteristic is too simplistic, however, and makes for an "untidy" analysis.

A second method ranks the utopias chronologically through time and qualitatively applied the principles of time-series analysis to the results. This method has the advantage of illuminating adaptations of utopian elements to techno-environmental change. Should all the utopias be lined up end to end, they would certainly give birth to a voluminous, if boring, volume of criticism.

Utopian literature may also be arranged about an important thematic quality such as an institution or a behavioristic anomaly. While this type of analysis interprets the central theme in minutia, it precludes the use of the comparative method.

Recently, utopian criticism has been arranged in clusters or "constellations"[26] by subjective-substantive criteria. This temporal-spatial model encourages comparative analysis in a social and historical context and lends itself well to analysis from the perspective of the sociology of knowledge.

It is obvious from the descriptions of these methodologies that a synthesis of all would, no doubt, provide a more well-rounded interpretation of utopian thought. In lieu of that utopian ideal, the utopias studied herein have been clustered about important transitional periods of historical and social import.

CHAPTER TWO

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF UTOPIA

Utopia may be the collectivization of dreams[1], but they are not ordinary dreams. They are visions of peace, happiness and social justice[2]. These three ideals have been scarce commodities in the real world, and utopia has kept alive the hopes and aspirations of generation upon generation of dreamers.

All utopias share in the birthright of prehistoric mythologies, from the Golden Age of the past to the Millennial Age of the future. Each fashions these mythologies in its particular way according to the social circumstances of its appearance. Reflecting the conditions of life and social aspirations of classes and individuals[3], utopias follow the historical development of their motherlands. Changes in the form and content of the utopian work, therefore, may be seen to present a mirror image of concomitant changes in the "shadow" society as interpreted by the authors and classes who represent it.

Utopias reflect class interests in a variety of

ways. Elite utopias are those written works which have sprung from the literate classes in every period. They are critical in intent and content but seldom politically revolutionary. Their intention was to dramatize the social pathologies of society so that changes could be implemented from within. This is not to imply that they were not radical or reactionary, however, for they were often both. Their solutions to social problems were often innovative, and some of their suggestions have yet to be incorporated into Western society. Often their overriding concern was with the supremacy or the maintenance of the state, and their reformations of society reflected that conservatism accordingly. Being of the upper social strata, these authors were able to concern themselves primarily with structural institutional changes rather than concentrating on the more mundane mechanics of everyday existence.

For the majority of humankind, however, the utopian dream had a more plebeian connotation. The life of a peasant was extraordinarily different from that of a noble person. The dreams of the masses were far different from those of their superiors. Utopias of the peasantry are in the oral tradition and are passed intergenerationally and modified by the changing circumstances of the "shadow" society. This gives the oral utopia a dialectical dynamism which the written utopia lacks. The written

utopia has a tendency to become static since the hopes and aspirations of the author are socially specific. For those readers in the generations to follow, these utopias may fail to reflect their interests and pass into oblivion. The written utopia may regenerate itself through critical reinterpretation (neé re-visionism) or through the cyclical reappearance of the specific circumstances which originally gave birth to it. The oral tradition is unfettered by these encumbrances and is free to mold itself to the needs and desires of every period and circumstance. Yet, for these very reasons, the oral utopia is difficult to compare over time since the later works supersede the earlier ones and in time are replaced by still others ad infinitum.

From the poetry of fourteenth century England comes the earliest recording of the universal oral utopia, The Land of Cokaygne[4]. Evidence supports the belief that this oral utopia was common in all of Europe while its critical elements have tenuous linkages to the extant preliterate eschatologies of premodern societies throughout the world[5].

Rather than concerning itself with elaboration of the social structure, the oral utopia provides for the most basic needs of humankind. At a time when the greater part of humanity worked long hours for little reward, the gluttonous appeal of the Cokaygne vision might easily have

fulfilled Marx' definition for an "opiate of the masses". In a land of peace and plenty, where work was an unlikely and unnecessary diversion, people lived happily in a just and egalitarian manner.

> [T]he Land of Cokaygne embodies the profoundest feelings of the masses, expresses them in an extremely concrete and earthy fashion, and is related to the main theme of popular mythology on the one hand and the main stream of popular revolt on the other[6].

But the oral utopia had its opposite as well, and the earthy exuberances of Cokaygne were soon transformed by reformists into the slothful shiftlessness of the good-for-nothings of Lubberland[7] as the Middle Ages became transformed by the rise of the bourgeoisie. Work acquired a new importance, not as the dawn-to-dusk subsistence of the masses, but as the righteous catalyst for the shift to the industrial.

The discovery of Australia prompted an excessive dystopia by Bishop Hall, Mundus Alter et Idem, where the land of Crapulia is divided into five provinces which each reflect a peculiar overindulgence. Drunkards' Land, Fools' Land, Gluttons' Land and the Land of Rogues are overshadowed by the excesses of the Province of Viraginia where women rule[8]. It would be interesting to see how the Bishop would react to present day England where his visionary nightmare has, at least in part, become reality[9].

If Mundus Alter et Idem is unique in that it is

the first of the English satirical utopias, Samuel Gott's Nova Solyma may be recalled as its most dreary and repellent[10]. It ushered in the age of the Puritan and effectively stifled the vision of an earthly paradise.

But the oral utopia exhibits surprising stability and resiliency despite its criticisms. It reemerges once again in the American folk music's Big Rock Candy Mountains and Poor Man's Heaven[11]. Virtually unchanged over a period of nearly six hundred years, these Cokaygne-like versions of the good life feature food, drink, eternal summer and the delights of idleness[12]. There is one difference, nevertheless, of great social import.

> The Big Rock Candy Mountains is closer in feeling to the original [Land of Cokaygne]. It is fantastic and passive, and, indeed, for all its surface gaiety, has an underlying weariness and cynicism born of a fuller realization that Cokaygne under modern conditions is no more than a dream . . . . Poor Man's Heaven is active and positive . . . . It is Cokaygne with some of the old fantastic elements, but with the addition to them of the class struggle. . . .[13]

Cokaygne and modern socialism are compatible since they both believe that the good life can be lived without the necessity for ceaseless toil. The classless society is Cokaygne made practical by scientific knowledge[14]. If socialism is to be anything but an "academic fabrication" of blueprints, it must take its ideals from the desires and hopes of the people[15]. Like Cokaygne, socialism must create a land where nature and humankind exist in harmony

and not in opposition[16].

In examining the construction of utopia, it is evident that there are clear differences in modes of thought and expression in every period. These differences reflect the individual propensities and class interests of the authors and the readers. In the past, as today, the

> dominant modes of thought are supplanted by new categories when the social basis of the group, of which these thought-forms are characteristic, disintegrates or is transformed under the impact of social change[17].

All political thought was divided by Karl Mannheim into two antithetical categories, the utopian and the ideological[18]. His analyses strove to create an entire theory of history as well as to illuminate the historical function of utopian thought in the Western world[19]. Dominant class perceptions which sought to maintain the equilibrium of the existing social order were ideological. On the other hand, utopian thought was the vehicle of the aspiring classes who hoped to overthrow or modify the social order as it then existed. The ideal-typical construct allowed him to explore the past in order to locate and analyze those heretofore invisible patterns which he felt, quite rightly, would lead to isolation of those elements which contribute to the "revolutionary fervor"[20] which catalyzed sweeping social change[21].

This disintegration of dominant modes appears when the range of utopian writing is examined through time in

such a way that the major periods of literary explosion are placed in social and historical juxtaposition. Clusters of utopias appear during these transitional periods as society moves from one political, economic and/or social form to another. In many ways, the years of transition from the preindustrial to the industrial in Western society recapitulates the transition from the prepolis to the polis in ancient Greece. Sweeping social changes marked each period and each was the site of an explosion of utopian literature.

H. G. Wells, one of the foremost of the utopian socialists, considered that sociology had as its essential task the construction of utopias[22]. It is particularly interesting that the literary utopia embodies an elementary paradox, that is, that it represents not only the past, with its mirroring of the "shadow" society which exists in the historical, but also the implicit reflexivity of these utopian works and their subsequent implementation by those members of the society to which it is aimed. Thus, utopia is impregnated with the idealization of the social and with the desire for its fruition in reality.

To elaborate a sociology of utopia is to find oneself at a crossroad where on the one side, the paths of the sociology of religion and political sociology intersect with the sociology of knowledge[23].

By the mid-nineteenth century when Marx wrote his

Critique of the Gotha Program, the paradox of utopia had found expression in the political experiences of early socialism. Marx viewed all utopians with some scorn since he felt that they were essentially dreamers with no hope of realization of those dreams. For him, socialism was active and dialectical, rooted in reality. Socialists were participants, rather than observers, in those processes which shaped and informed their lives. The nature of Marxian socialism embodied those elements of the classical and historical literary utopias which had developed in ancient Greece, namely, the belief in an early paradisiacal state and its possible reconstruction in the future. Thus, utopia and socialism are intertwined and interrelated in their goals, the construction of an ideal society based on justice, equality and freedom from want.

The classical Marxian distinction between utopian and scientific socialism rectified and popularized Hegel's attack on the Kantian "ought" in the name of "actuality". In all practical proposals for idealized political states, there is implicit the essence of the utopian tradition for "utopian thought attempts to specify and justify the principles of a comprehensively good political order"[24]. In Marxism, this ideal society took the form of a classless society where all individuals contributed to the collectivity according to their abilities and received according to their needs[25]. Presumably, this meant that a complement

of needs would be met rather than those which comprise subsistence necessities; however, Marx never made this explicit in his writings.

His utopianism, for it is apparent in Marx' earlier works that he was extremely idealistic[26], was unique because he was able to transcend the difficulties inherent in creating his classless utopia. Rather than attempting to describe it, Marx merely alluded to the future utopian state which would soon be realized. He neatly avoided, thereby, the problem of translating a literary form into a social one and left that thorny task to his followers. Neglecting to define the attributes of classlessness, in addition, have driven Marxian scholars to infinite speculation and elaboration of his original scheme[27]. In this respect, perhaps Marx must be seen as ultimate utopiste for his rhetoric has driven millions to the task of creating and running his elusive utopia without much of a blueprint to guide them.

Therefore, the sociology of utopia may be seen as having two distinct preoccupations. Firstly, it attempts to identify those social groups with which the utopia is identified. In the second place, it must orient the utopia and the utopians in the temporal-spatial reality which make it socially significant[28]. Utopia is also a fable, a fantastic tale which envelops the myths and meanings of the groups who produce and consume them. In a

sense, utopia may be seen as having both materialistic and mythic inheritances.

As viewed from the perspective of the sociology of knowledge, history shows the successive revolutionary waves which were a constant in European intellectual and social life[29]. The past was dominated by revolutionary and/or class conflict. For Mannheim, social role and the ideas of intellectuals are the foci of the sociology of knowledge[30]. He differed from Marx in his belief that an intellectual élite had a larger part in shaping history. From his modified Marxian point of view, Mannheim felt that

> art, culture and philosophy are nothing but the expression of the central utopia of the age, as shaped by contemporary social and political forces.[31]

Society is propelled from one historical epoch to another by this series of catalytic revolutions. It determines not only the appearance but also the content of human ideation[32]. It is not surprising that their two views of utopia varied, for while Mannheim accepted the Marxian conception of ideology, he rejected the notion that the "voiceless classes"[33] played the major role in shaping the social order. Utopia was the intellectual self-expression which ultimately brought about social change[34].

The mythic roots of the thoughts commonly defined as utopian may be traced to the earliest extant writings of ancient Greece[35]. Perhaps had the Library at Alexandria

survived, there would be numerous and earlier references to the chimerical. The tales which gave rise to the oral tradition of utopias, The Land of Cokaygne and its descendants, are thought to have migrated from the East by way of the Minoan civilization[36].

The Eastern utopian tradition is characterized primarily by its peasant nature and is hallmarked by the ambiguity which exists between past and future[37]. They are beyond time. These distant antecedents from the Eastern tradition, according to Chesneaux, are intellectual dreams and peasant revolts developed against the established order. They differ from their Western counterparts.

> [T]hey are not an inherent part of the Islamic or Confucian world-vision and social structure. Quite on the contrary, in certain regions, on certain occasions, they happened as if the deep protesting aspirations of the popular masses and the intellectuals were expressed in broad daylight through the pores of the social order and official ideology.[38]

Although characterized by scholars as both egalitarian and peasant, the utopian tradition in the East shares one characteristic of importance to this study. The notion of equality did not apply to woman.

Buddhism contains a rich tradition of egalitarianism and utopianism with the ideal of social justice nourished by the mythical traditions of the past[39]. Both the Golden Age and the millennial elements of the Western tradition are matched by their counterparts in Buddhism. A community

of goods supplants private ownership where the wishing tree, Padeytha Pin, supplies all that is needed for the good life on the island of Uttarakuru. Nobody need work. Comparisons to The Land of Cokaygne are striking, yet while the peasant inhabitants of Cokaygne revel in their labor-free plenitude, those who reside on the island of Uttarakuru live in monastic simplicity.

Unlike the oral utopias discussed above, the literary utopia presupposes an educated audience. For much of history, this audience was composed of those at the top of the social ladder whose life chances gave them access to the learning of their particular periods. This meant that the audience was small but influential, and that ideas presented in the utopian format were rapidly disseminated to those social actors who virtually controlled the superstructure of their societies. They infused the top levels of society with their revolutionary and reactionary polemics.

If utopias are seen as the reflections of the class interests of their authors, then the literary utopias of these intellectual élites can not be the reflections of the interests of the masses. They are, indeed, the thoughtful and principled expressions of individuals who perceived difficulties in the existing social system and who wished to point out those shortcomings to those who would best be able to remedy them. That the majority

of those who were in positions which enabled them to criticize those conditions were men is apparently redundant.

Although the appearance of the literary utopia may be viewed as episodic in nature, it is, nonetheless, very nearly predictable. From its onset in the literary tradition of ancient Greece, utopias have flourished in periods of social transition. Although this may appear to be so patently obvious as to appear trite, the connections of utopian thought to social change is of primary importance in explaining the position of women and their characterization in utopian fiction.

The utopian genre arises out of the dynamism inherent in social change and the manifestations of the social circumstances of everyday existence. Utopian fiction concerns itself with the exegesis of the drives and needs of individuals in particular social context. Institutions, in particular, come under scrutiny by the utopiste for they are the loci of the tensions attendant upon change. Changes in one institution do not occur in a vacuum but affect attendant change in the other major institutions of society as well. For purposes of this study, woman in utopia is an index of the relative position of woman in the "shadow" society and also a representative of certain ahistorical elements which contribute to the seemingly unchanging and ongoing char-

acterization of woman.

Though the individual utopias created reflected one person's experiences in one particular society, the influence of that work may make it the collective dream for entire portions of a population. By recognizing the persistence of symbolic and mythic forms as well as the motivations given impetus by the immediate political, economic or social difficulties encountered, the utopistes created consciousness.

For woman in each period, however, these talking pictures failed to speak. While illuminating the position of the less favored in society, utopia ignored the position of woman as woman and, thereby, lacked the ability to raise the consciousness of at least one half of humanity.

Early utopian works were influential in shaping those of later times, nonetheless, and all owed much to the legacy of the Greeks. More and Campanella were dependent upon the writings of Plato. Bacon, Condorcet and Restif de la Bretonne inspired the works of Fourier, Saint-Simon and others who, in turn, were influential in the development of the thoughts of Owen, Bellamy, Morris and Marx. The modern utopistes breathed new life into the talking pictures of the past.

The Western utopia is considered to be a product of the crucible of the Renaissance and the Reformation[40]. At the time that these utopias first appeared, faith in a Christian heavenly paradise was still unshaken and the

assertion of human talent to invent, discover, and devise was as if reborn[41]. That period of time was one of radical transformation of the nature and domain of the Christian world. Utopias flourished throughout Western Europe, including Russia and excepting Spain, but they were printed first in Latin and then translated into English, French, Italian and German[42]. Since the study and mastery of Latin was the hallmark of an educated person, there was no difficulty for utopia to find pathways into every Western society.

As the transition from feudalism to capitalism was completed in Western culture, clusters of utopias appeared throughout Western Europe. Traders explored and opened up new areas for the growing commercial enterprises, and the utopistes availed themselves of these pathways for social revisionism and reconstruction. For the paths of utopian exploration followed closely the paths of actual geographical exploration whereby a newly discovered island or country lent glamour to the diverse creations of the utopistes. More, Campanella and Vairasse, confronting the problems of Christianity in a world fast approaching a crisis with nascent secularism, represent the height of Christian utopianism. If utopian thought may be viewed as a yardstick of the contest between these two competing ideologies, then the utopias of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries proclaim the

victory of the secular.

As industrialization grew out of commercialism, the visionaries foresaw once again the class struggles and battle lines which were beginning to emerge. It is perhaps more than coincidental that the industrial phase of mature capitalism gave birth to the applied utopia as the literary utopia reached its apex. For the first time since the utopian conception, intellectuals saw the possibility of realizing the idealistic construction in the present. For Fourier, Saint-Simon, Owen and most especially Marx, socialism was the dream that was real.

What has been termed by some as the "twilight" or "end" of utopia may be viewed as the "supernove" of the genre, for it is in this period that utopia as a literary construct reached the masses.

Marx revealed how the ruling class ideologies hid reality and how it is not accidental that this is so. Ideas are cultural products which arise from specific social practices. Theories which originate in the dominant classes must necessarily mask the material and conceptual realities. Utopian literature developed from an élitist world-view which reflected the values of the emergent working classes rather than their own. Utopistes saw evils in capitalism and the pain and brutality of life for the mass of humanity. This understanding modified their perceptions of the social reality in which people lived.

Utopians of the nineteenth century reacted to the excesses of industrialization and became advocates for the interests of the laboring masses. The fusion of socialism and utopianism produced a profusion of utopian works. All utopias were additions to, or arguments with, other utopias. The truly great utopia startles and yet is recognized as conceivable. It is not a sleepy or bizarre vision but one that satisfies a hunger or stimulates the mind and the body to the recognition of a new potentiality[43]. During the nineteenth century, the interpenetration of the literary utopia and utopian socialism created a climate which was particularly beneficial to their mutual growth. For the most part, these reflections of society in these periods of utopian profusion were written by males. The images of woman which were predominant in these transition clusters were mirror images reflected through the dominant, that is, male, world-view.

This fin de siècle was unique, nevertheless, because for the first time in the literary utopian tradition the class interests expressed were those of the lower and working classes. This coalition between the literate utopistes and the increasingly self-conscious working class raised a collective voice against the evils and excesses of capitalism.

When the last of the "true" utopias in the Neo-

Greco tradition, Wells' A Modern Utopia, was published in the early years of the twentieth century, productive capacity appeared to exceed the consumptive needs of Western society in such proportions that the collective utopian dreams of humanity were thought to be close to realization.

CHAPTER THREE

NOWHERE AND SOMEWHERE

The yearning for the realization of the utopian dream, and the stuff of which those dreams were fashioned, was one which was almost exclusively articulated by man. These "talking pictures"[1] of strange and wondrous lands, these "lullabies of heaven"[2], these "mirror-universes"[3] which trap the shadows of reality are decidedly paternalistic in their treatment of woman.

Even the word "authorship" connotes the paternal for the author is "father, progenitor, procreator, aesthetic patriarch whose pen is an instrument of generative power like his penis"[4]. The creation of utopia recapitulates the creation of the cosmos whereby the pen/phallis creates in an "act of onanism" on the "pure space of the virgin page". The self is "continually spent and wasted"[5]. The author is clearly a patriarch who "owns" not only the events but also the children of his "fertile imagination"[6].

The pen has been defined as not just accidentally,

but essentially, a male "tool", therefore,

> [l]iterature is not the business of a woman's life, and it cannot be.[7]

The metaphor of a literary paternity implies that writing is no place for a woman because it is both physiologically and sociologically impossible for her[8]. Small wonder that the female-created utopia is such a rarity. Denied by her very birthright this phallic symbol of creativity, the female utopiste must "naturally" lack those patriarchically defined characteristics which lead to literary splendor.

Each utopian work is inhabited by a "long chain of parasitical presences, echoes, allusions, guests, ghosts of previous texts" which have been absorbed by the utopiste and then "consciously or unconsciously" affirmed or denied[9]. This tradition of building on the accumulated thoughts of the past posed great problems for the female utopiste who sought to build an ideal place, a talking picture which is a mirror image of her reality. There is scant evidence that such a place ever existed for those of her sex.

To attack patriarchal images in the utopian genre is to attack the values and assumptions of the "shadow" society from which they emerge. The Western literary tradition was "devised by male authors to tell male stories about the world"[10]. This act of re-vision is, for woman, an "act of survival"[11]. It is the art of looking back-

ward and seeing with "fresh eyes"[12]. It is "unlearning to not speak"[13], "unlearning" to not see and "unlearning" to not understand. It is the ability to enter an old text from a new "direction" so that heretofore unseen elements gain importance and legitimacy from the subordinate world-view[14]. Feminist criticism is not subjective, therefore, even though it emerges from the historically particular consciousness of woman.

Although each utopian work deals with the everyday existence of woman, none of the classical or historical critiques "sees" them from the feminist perspective or world-view. A criticism which fails to take into account the aspirations and achievements of woman must necessarily be one which is biased and incomplete. Informed by the recent awareness of the feminist world-view, this study represents a nascent attempt to articulate this neglected aspect of the position of woman as woman in the utopian genre.

It is possible that the Western utopian corpus arose ex nihilo, but it is more probable that it was informed by an infusion of Eastern mythic and literate forms by way of diffusion and acculturation. In the Hellenistic cradle of Western civilization, where misogynistic attitudes are presumed to have their origin[15], the utopian literary tradition of the Western world was born. It is to that point in time and space, therefore, that any examination of the body of utopian literature in the

Western world must begin.

The Greek utopian literature builds on the pre-utopian works which were popular during the emergence of the city-state[16]. In Hesiod's Works and Days, written about 700 b.c., there appears almost every element of the utopian literary genre with one conspicuous absence. In this construction of the "ideal" State, there are no women. Utopia is male. In an extremely narrow sense, then, it might be said that the presence of woman in the real world precludes, by definition, the attainment of the utopian ideal for mankind. Paradoxically,

> [t]he men of the golden race were sons of Mother Earth and were conceived without the intervention of the male, either divine or human—a sharp contrast to the creation of Adam, which is accomplished by the Lord, a paternal figure, acting alone[17].

Later utopian works remedied Hesiod's omission and created ideal States where woman was allowed in paradise.

As Greece emerged from the Dark-Age, changes were reflected in the Homeric poems. In one sense,

> Hector is the prototype of a new type of Greek here . . . a more integrated and whole person, whose activity as a warrior was the expression of the totality of his human relations[18].

Although the status of woman was tied intrinsically to the man with whom she was associated, there appeared to be a more humanistic infusion into the warrior role and into the social position of woman in this period. As the

large, extended family evolved into the small, nuclear family, the social importance of woman's role in society became emphasized. This ideological change in the position of woman and the romanticization of the marital relationship which accompanied it, grew out of a discontent with the values of the Heroic Age and may, thus, be viewed as a precursor of the utopian genre.

In each of the periods examined herein, there is an implicit class struggle which appears to be articulated in the utopias from many different perspectives. In early Greece, there are the works of Homer and Hesiod as the precursors of the utopian genre which represent those elements of the change to the polis society. Political and economic changes are documented in the representation of family life of the characters in each of their works. The importance of woman to the community, in her role as wife and mother, was emphasized in the Homeric poems through the idealization of the family and marital relationships. Representing the aristocratic view of the time, the Homeric poems illustrate the changing characterization of woman as the position of man in the "shadow" society was subtly altered by the shift of the heroic ideal from the warrior to the family man occurred. For the rising middle class which Hesiod represented, individualism and fierce competition made the wife part of a corporate effort which allowed the husband to climb the social ladder

of success. For the first time, utopia documented the importance of the production of heirs as a means of consolidating personal property at a time when the availability of land was sorely restricted[19]. Rights of succession to land were legitimated through the Laws of Solon which encouraged the development of personal property and its intergenerational disposition through wills.

Class tensions intensified as the growing urban centers of the emerging Greek city-state commercialized. This contributed to the growth of a strong middle class. Equality under the law, a necessary prerequisite to social contract, followed soon after thereby conferring on the middle and lower classes the benefits of political equality. Unfortunately, this equality under the law extended only to men while women and slaves retained their legal "invisibility". The middle classes were to be the foundation of the new State, and to that end laws were enacted to protect the integrity of the nuclear family which was its primary and basic element.

The Greek utopias followed two different paths, that of Athens and that of Sparta. As a product of an aristocratic world-view, the Republic of Plato was a radical departure in the Athenian model.

The polis rose to its zenith before the first "true" utopias appeared. In Book V of the Republic,

Plato described an ideal aristocratic society where the needs of the individual were totally subordinated to the needs of the collectivity. With his devotion to the State, it was unthinkable that Plato neglect to incorporate the labors of females into his society. Reactionary when compared to the Athens which inspired it, Republic appeared when the impending demise of the polis was apparent in the growing luxuriousness of Athenian hierarchical society[20]. Aristophanes produced his utopia for the ordinary citizen of Athens at about the same period while Aristotle criticized the Platonic utopia with a politically conservative rendition of his own.

Plato built on the Hesiodic idea of the race of golden men who had inhabited the world in an earlier time of peace and prosperity. He constructed this hierarchic order with ideal-typical "Guardians" who ruled the ideal State. The interweavings of the mythic elements of the Hesiodic golden race with the golden age of the past provided the setting for the Platonic sagas of Republic. This series of utopian descriptions chronicled the passage of humankind from a primitive age of innocence, through catastrophic cycles, to the age of Greece and the loss of the ideal state. Plato provided a rich heritage for those who were to follow him. Nothing in Plato was allowed to die. Each idea was recycled and each image reborn in the dreams of latter day utopistes[21].

The Romans incorporated the utopian elements of order and economy into an "ideal" expansion of their cities. Meanwhile Virgil and Ovid preserved and passed on the myth of the golden age appropriately garbed in the Roman world-view. For the law-ridden Roman society, a utopian time of "natural" righteousness without legal sanctions provided a vision which was truly realizable.

As the Greco-Roman civilization declined, the literary utopian tradition appears to have disappeared as well. It is possible that it thrived during that period, but there is little evidence that this was so. The tradition of the oral utopia survived the "Dark Ages" of Europe. However, it offered little which was utopian to the literate and well-fed upper classes. The ideas and ideals of the early utopian writers were first made available to the literate classes of Europe when the entire corpus of Greek literature was published in the fourteenth century. The contents of the Greek utopias must have been both serendipitous and catalytic to the thinkers of the Renaissance for without the Greek legacy the utopias of the Renaissance are hardly conceivable[22].

The European Middle Age was a pyramid of estates as well as a pyramid of values. Western culture was soon to throw off the yoke of feudalism as the growing mercantilism of the newly emergent bourgeoisie forced massive structural change. As in the transitional phase

of the Greek evolution from the clan to the polis, the utopian propensity revealed itself in the *literati* who were to impose their visionary ideations on a changing social scene.

The Renaissance may be viewed as the ideal type of cultural epoch dominated by the middle class. It was the first stage in the development of the feudal into the capitalist system. In an attempt to consolidate its newly won position, the middle class had a tendency to opt for the rewards which accrue from alignment with the aristocracy. This attempt to share in the "feudal good life"[23] created class antagonisms which accelerated impending changes in the existing social order.

As the subsistence economy of the Middle Age evolved into the market economy, there was a concurrent shift in the philosophical sphere. Humanism, the philosophy of the bourgeois revolution, taught that humans could be more than passive observers of history. Set against a background where the Church taught that the sole hope of humanity was in spiritual salvation in an "other" world, humanism was a positive belief that human actors could shape and mold the occurrences of their lives. This belief in "progress" is thought to be a primary catalyst in the development of a cluster of utopian thoughts[24].

The humanists, as representatives of the intel-

ligentsia, were tied to the new élites through the shared belief in the value of individualism. Since people controlled their own destinies and progress was a necessary and positive force for change, the humanist myth of the rebirth of classical antiquity was the "wish-dream" of a renewed culture which brought with it creativity and vitality[25].

> [T]he romantic humanist retired into the twilight of a purely literary and imaginary world; he sought a distant dream world in the remote past in which he could give free rein to his wish-dreams. [He sought] refuge in an idealized past, access to which was denied to the mass of the people.[26]

The growth of this independent intelligentsia offered a possibility of social criticism ostensibly free from the class-bound biases of earlier ages. This detachment from society as it existed, and the concomitant attachment to Aristotelian and Platonic idealism, was directly correlated with the rise of the utopian genre in the Renaissance.

Until that time, humanity had been living in the "shadow of the past"[27]. The squalor and emiseration of the European Middle Age had been overshadowed by the belief in the past and glorious golden age. The emerging "progressive" and future-oriented class thrust civilization to a level of production which at least equalled that of the classical Greco-Roman period. Through the influence of those who attempted to transcend bourgeois class interests in order to affect the happiness of "man as a whole"[28], humanism precipitated the rebirth of utopia.

Consequently,

> instead of looking back to a past more glorious than the present, it was possible to look forward to a future more glorious than either. This growth of civilization transformed man's whole outlook.[29]

Capitalism first invaded and transformed agriculture in the England which was the social crucible for More's Utopia[30]. Mechanization forced workers off the land at a time when early manufacturing was not yet mature enough to absorb their labors. Thievery and vagrancy became the norm for these displaced workers. Demand for the products of agriculture and early manufacturing, especially wool, encouraged merchants and large landowners to force the remnants of the feudal peasantry from the common lands which had been their right to use[31]. Some times entire villages and townships would be sacrificed on the altar of capitalism. Outside influences on prices of agricultural products raised profits while the increasing number of workers in the "reserve army" lengthened the work day while it diminished wages. That these conditions would influence More to seek a remedy is to be expected.

More's position was that of a well-born, but not noble, citizen whose service to the crown took him into the realm of the political and economic both in England and on the continent. During much of his public career he was a representative for the interests of the newly emergent middle classes. But at the same time, More possessed an

"amiable character" in harmony with primitive communism[32]. More may be viewed as an early socialist whose sensitivity to the sufferings attendant upon the capitalist mode of production was shaped by the social and philosophical context of the time.

The locale and life of the Utopians has, over time, taken on the position of abstraction which may be molded to needs and desires at will. In Utopia critics have seen the secularity of the modern socialist state[33], the idealized Christian dreams of a devoted papist[34], the serendipitous work of a scholar[35] and the "saddest of fairy tales"[36]. Its influence was, if anything, greater than that of the Republic since all utopian works to follow were to be either imitation of, or reaction to, the principles set forth in its few pages.

The satirical mirroring of the excesses of the age which are set down in Book One leave no doubt that More sought to create a Humanist tract which would change the direction which England appeared ready to follow. In Book Two, where More creates his Ideal Commonwealth, he attempts to remedy those ills which have been chronicled in Book One. It is interesting to note that Book Two was the first to be written. Perhaps More wished there to be no question of the intent of his little book and so wrote the criticism of England as complement to it. In any case, the two form an implicit and explicit narrative of the "shadow" society which produced them.

Utopia is a patriarchal and paternalistic society where, despite claims to the contrary, segregation and inequality are part and parcel of the everyday existence of the inhabitants. For woman, this is not eutopia.

The family is the basis of society, and the oldest male member of the family is its "governor"[37].

> Wives serve their husbands, and children their parents, and always the younger serves the elder.[38]

Families practice patrilocal residence patterns where "all the males, both children and grandchildren, live in the same house" and exogamous marriage patterns whereby "their women, when they grow up, are married out"[39]. With the exception that his daughters also stayed after their marriage, this arrangement is similar to the large extended family which resided with More at Chelsea[40]. The old and the infirm are cared for by their families until which time they decide that they no longer wish to continue with their lives. At this time, altruistic suicide is prescribed for them[41].

Large halls are used for communal dining although families are permitted to eat in the home if they so desire. All heavy work incidental to meal preparation is performed by slaves but "the dressing and cooking their meat, and the ordering their tables, belong only to the women"[42]. The women of each family take turns performing this service. Adults eat at the same tables while infants are cared for by "nurses", sex undisclosed, and children

either serve at table or stand quietly by in the hope that they will be given a share of what is being served at table.

Reverence for age is manifested in serving the very best, after portions have been reserved for the ill, to the elders of the community who then redistribute a share to those who are sitting near to them. Thus, all share equally in the meal but special respect is given to the patriarchs.

Unless death or illness intervenes, each child is nursed by its natural mother. In any case where this is not possible, a wet-nurse assumes the responsibility and the "maternity" for the child. Such women will "offer herself cheerfully" as there is no distinction made between the natural or the adoptive mother. Often children will be shifted from one family to another to abide by the rule that no family have more than sixteen members nor less than ten[43].

Utopians are monagamous but may seek divorces when either member commits adultery. The adulterous member is condemned to slavery, although they may later be pardoned. But any who are pardoned and then suffer a relapse of their prior state are punished with death[44]. Before marriage each bride is presented naked to her groom, and, at a later time, each groom is presented naked to his bride.

[I]t is certain that there may be some such

> deformity covered with the clothes as may totally alienate a man from his wife when it is too late to part with her . . . a man has no remedy but patience.[45]

In the "classless" society of Utopia all wear the same garments of wool, linen or leather "except what is necessary to distinguish the two sexes, and the married and unmarried"[46]. Priests, while performing their sacred functions, are clothed gaily in intricately detailed garments made from feathers[47].

Education is highly valued in Utopia. Each person receives instruction in both manual and intellectual subjects. It is felt that in time "Utopia becomes a state of philosophers"[48]. Since agriculture is the mainstay of the Utopian economy, each citizen works in the fields as well as having a particular trade. Women and men have the opportunity to learn and practice any of the trades in Utopia but women, "for the most part, deal in wool and flax, which suit best their weakness, leaving the ruder trades to the men"[49].

Each family specializes in one trade and skills are passed "from father to son"; however, should "any man's genius" incline him to another trade it is possible for him to be adopted by a family which deals in that particular trade[50]. Mobility is thereby limited for males, and since there is no mention of female mobility one must assume that their manual education likely consists of those skills which they may transfer from one

family to another when they are "married out".

Despite their "equality", there is a great distance between the spirit and the reality for the woman in Utopia. Since all offices, both secular and sacred, are ostensibly open to those of either sex it would be reasonable to assume that their number would be divided fairly evenly in these positions. The majority of priests are males, however, and only older and widowed women are mentioned as ever attaining the priesthood[51]. There is no mention of any administrative position being filled by a female.

The status of woman in Utopia is tied intricately to the status of the man with whom she is most closely associated. The Utopians value all work "equally", and since women share in the trades they have a status which devolves from their work and accrues to them solely. But for those who share in the administration of the commonwealth, there is a special prestige which accrues from their office. The wives of these Syphogrants share the status and prestige of their husbands[52]. This is quite obviously a special case where some are "more equal" than others. When Utopians are at war, as they appear frequently to be, women are encouraged to accompany their mates to the battlefield to provide them with "provisions" and to encourage them to fight fiercely for their families. Although women are said to be skilled at the bow, there is no mention of their responsibility to also

defend the commonwealth[53].

More, for all his socialist-humanist leanings, assigned to the women in the Ideal Commonwealth roughly those same sex and age segregated tasks which women performed in his homeland. At a time when England was undergoing rapid change in the institution of the family, he sought to caution against the disintegration of the extended network which was the norm at the end of the feudal period. Industrialization demanded mobility and the family responded by diminishing in size and evolving into the nuclear family. The havoc which this change wrought on the social fabric of England resulted in sweeping social and structural change as the country moved toward the industrial period. His support of the agrarian economy and his desire for the country to keep the wool and flax industries are clearly visible in the Utopian image. More's abhorrence of the position of the landless classes and their inability to secure a livelihood either in manufacturing or in subsistence farming is mirrored in the full employment of the Utopians and the shortness of their six hour workday[54]. He fails to make explicit, however, if the tasks of cooking, housework and child caretaking are included in the workday of the women who perform them. Perhaps then, as now, women performed a double-day work pattern. While abolishing private property and instituting a community of property, More continues to support the "ownership" of women and the

labor of their reproduction.

> He that provideth not for those that are his, is worse than an infidel. Those are ours that are belonging to our charge, either by nature, or law, or any commandment of God.[55]

In molding his commonwealth on the ideal of primitive Christian communism, More cannot help but instill in his creations the virtues and the shortcomings of a society based on the patronage and patriarchy of a male deity. The influence of Augustine's City of God may be equal to that of the Republic in Utopia.

CHAPTER FOUR

CITIES OF REASON

Although there were utopian stirrings in literature during the late Middle Age prior to the publication of More's Utopia[1], they left no significant traces in the Western tradition. For all practical purposes, the modern utopian revival began with the popularization of More's Utopian tale.

If More owed a considerable debt to Plato and the other writers of the Greek classical period, the utopistes of the modern era owed no smaller debt to him. In addressing the difficulties and crises of the early period of capitalism and industrialization, More struck a chord which resounded throughout all of Europe.

Each utopia reproduces the setting of the society which produced it and for those of the Renaissance this meant that utopian works mirrored the struggle between the sacred and the secular which was taking place at that time. From the time of Utopia to the early eighteenth century, with their faith and commitment to Christianity

still intact, utopistes strove to accomplish "the radical transformation of the nature and domain of the Christian world"[2]. More's response to the social ills of England was accompanied by the religious schism of Henry VIII which ultimately cost More his life. The seventeenth century saw those early problems magnify and proliferate throughout all of the Western world. Utopistes of the period attempted to reconstitute a universal order based on Christian virtues and the support of the new science.

Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, was one of the first of the utopistes to incorporate and popularize the new science in the utopian format. Irreverently labelled "mad Madge of Newcastle" by some of her contemporaries, she was, nevertheless, so highly respected by later critics that in one eighteenth century publication she was depicted as alighting from her Pegasus with the assistance of Milton and Shakespere[3]. Pepys, who was one of her most severe critics, was thought to be reacting as much from jealousy of her notoriety as from literary objection. Margaret was a literary figure of considerable note in seventeenth century England and created works for the theatre[4] as well as collections of poetry. If, as is often attributed[5], the nickname "Mad Madge" accrued from her extreme loyalty to her spouse in the unsettling court of Charles II, it is evident that her choice of subject matter had no little influence on the label.

> Perchance some may say that if my understanding be most of sheep it is a beastly

> understanding. My answer is, I wish men were as harmless as most beasts are, then surely the world would be more quiet and happy than it is.[6]

While not the founder of the genre, the Duchess must be seen as one of the early popularizers of the utopian form. She was infused with the utopian "propensity" and, perhaps, she above all others may be seen as having a utopian vocation. The genre gave vent, under the novelistic or poetic guise, to well-founded distrust of the political situation which she experienced. Her scathing commentary on England formed the basis of her satirical-utopian work published as The Blazing World.

The hero[ine] of the tale is a young lady who was kidnapped by a travelling merchant who had fallen madly in love with her. It is the unhappy fate of all but the idealistic young hero to be frozen to death as a storm drove their vessel upon the icy shores of the North Pole. A rescue is effected by inhabitants of an alternate universe which is joined to earth at the polar cap. Eventually the hero marries the Emperor and prepares to live happily "ever after".

A curious sort, the Empress wished to learn of the eschatology and science of her new land. Although they are truly learned, there is not a scribe who can transcribe for her the newly acquired knowledge. She asks for help from the spirits of a philosopher such as Plato, Aristotle or Epicurus or from one of the learned

"modern" scholars such as Galileo, Descartes or Hobbes. The first are rejected for the job because they are so impressed with their own opinions that they would lack the patience to be scribes. The latter are so self-conceited that they would "scorn to be scribes to a woman"[7].

> But there's a lady, the Duchess of Newcastle, which although she is not one of the most learned, eloquent, witty, and ingenious, yet she is a plain and rational writer; the principle of her writings is sense and reason, and she will, without question, be ready to do you all the service she can.[8]

And so it was that the Duchess came to write the story of the utopian anthropomorphic world of men.

There is no question that the story of The Blazing World is fantastic and fanciful, but its foundations in the life of Margaret Cavendish are very real indeed. The work was the Duchess' last and it was addressed specifically to women. Although never outspoken about the feminist cause, she wrote for the female mass audience and exposed them to those issues and problems to which they had previously been denied access. While clothed in the garment of "feminity", the Duchess proposed revolutionary thoughts in her many works. She had a tremendous influence on the female authors who later had access to her many writings[9] for she created the foundation on which they built.

Most élite women in England at the time were as imprisoned in their homes as a bird is in a cage[10], and Margaret encouraged them to seek knowledge as the key to

their emancipation. She encouraged them to rival men in all domains, the political, the philosophical and the literary. She felt as Demosthène offering freedom and happiness to her followers and readers as they gained in knowledge and power. For this reason, she must be seen as an early feminist, albeit not a "blazing" feminist.

Of her literary prowess there is not question, for there was

> [i]ndisputable evidence of a genius as highborn in the realms of intellect as its possessor was exalted in the ranks of society; a genius strong-winged and swift, fertile and comprehensive, but ruined by deficient culture, by literary dissipation, and the absense of concatenation and the sense of proportion.[11]

Caught in the "double bind" which made her a caricature of a female writer, she was a pioneer who wrote prodigiously and was read not only by élites but by the masses. She offered an example of what the full life of a woman of the time could be as she worked within the confines of the world and society as she perceived them.

The Blazing World is the first peep into the utopian dreams of a female. For some of her critics, this dream is "so private that it borders on schizophrenia"[12]. In attempting to escape her "madness", Cavendish opts for self-deprecatory misogyny.

> It cannot be expected I should write so wisely or wittily as men, being of the effeminate sex, whose brains nature has mixed with the coldest and softest elements.[13]

There may have been some foundation for the label even-

tually as in self-fulfilling prophecy, "mad Madge" worked through those contradictions which arose from her authorship and her gender identity. The female utopiste, in searching for a female model, seeks to legitimate her own "rebellious endeavors"[14] in a genre which is predominantly male. Struggling against socialization, these writers must be more than revisionist with regard to their world-view. They must revise male estimates of "their" kind[15].

It may have been in a fleeting moment of despair or in a flash of true self-consciousness that Cavendish wrote:

> [w]omen live like Bats or Owls, labor like Beasts, and die like Worms.[16]

If the collective voice of woman was singular during the period, the male utopistes raised a veritable chorus of visionary illusions.

City of the Sun, the monastic community envisioned by Thomas Campanella, was also one which gave a major role to science. Slave labor is abolished for the first time in utopia, and there are no prisons and no torture for transgressors. Manual work becomes the "honorable duty"[17] of each inhabitant.

For the women in the City, equality of opportunity to work and to attain some measure of status was possible. They can never be a magistrate or a leader, however, as those positions are reserved solely for males. There is

little personal freedom for women despite their "equality" with men. Campanella reacted to the excessive ostentation of the age as did More. While More contented himself with devaluing gold and other precious metals and jewels by making them into children's toys and chamber-pots while deriding the "wretched" ambassadors who wore them as being in "childish garb and feminine finery"[18], Campanella punished women for these transgressions with death[19].

Private property, as reaction to the evils of early capitalism or as imitation of More and Plato, was seldom part of the ideal society of the period. Whether the community was secular or religious, inhabitants contented themselves with a community of goods.

In Andreae's Christianopolis, the influence of the feudal period is evidenced in the organization of the society. Anticipating economic geography by centuries, the city was divided into sectors which were guild or trade specific. In this early economy of scale, light and heavy industry were isolated in sectors while the entire city was surrounded by an agricultural zone[20].

As may be imagined, the city was one of Christians and religion ruled the state. It was based on primitive Christian communism and there was no private property.

Families were "small" and servants were rare[21]. Perhaps this is the reason that Andreae broke with the pattern established with Plato and continued until

Campanella whereby women were freed from the most arduous tasks of meal preparation so that they could pursue more "worthy" occupations such as military training. Andreae gives woman a purely female role but it is not altogether Victorian. "They have no voice" and are denied the vote[22]. Women are symbolically placed on pedestals with the Virgin Mary as their example. Ironically, he provides girls with the same college education as boys, perhaps so that they will be more literate companions for their husbands.

The Law of Freedom provides that marriage is based on the ideal of romantic love. Laws governing marriage are relatively simple, and adultery is not considered a crime. Rape, however, is considered to be "robbery of a woman's bodily freedom" and is a serious crime. Despite this sexual freedom women are still felt to be the property of their spouses[23].

French utopias paralleled those in the English language. While two early works predated More's[24], the majority were written during the same periods of strife and transition as their English counterparts. Their differences, however, must be attributed to the particular circumstances of their cultural heritage as well as to the specific crises to which they were addressed.

Like Campanella, François Rabelais set his ideal society in a monastery, the Abbey of Thelème. While in the City of the Sun ostentation is a grievous crime, in the Abbey it is part of the "monastic good life"[25].

Their lives were not regulated by "lawes, statutes or rules" but by free will and their pleasure. There was but one rule to be observed, "Do what thou wilt"[26].

Whereas the nuns and monks of the religious orders were accustomed to the ascetic life, those of the Abbey were bejewelled and apparelled in the finest of clothing. So extensive was their use of these accoutrements that about Theleme there arose "half a league" of houses "wherein dwelt the Goldsmiths, Lapidaries, Jewellers, Embroiderers, Tailors, Gold-drawers, Velvet-weavers, Tapestrie-makers and Upholsterers" who furnished the "jollie Friars and Nuns of the new stamp"[27].

Rabelais was an imaginative, if restless, cleric who believed that mankind was "naturally" virtuous and honorable. He felt that it was imperative to be in the company of others so inclined so that one may avoid the vices which tempt the goodness of nature.

The Abbey is inhabited by "chaste and honest"[28] women who are "faire and good" with "sweet" dispositions[29].

> Never were seene Ladies so proper and handsome, so miniard and dainty, lesse froward, or more ready with their hand, and with their needle, in every honest and free action belonging to that sexe then were there. . . .[30]

That the Nuns were at liberty to do as they "wilt" was constrained by the notion of what is "vertuous action". They were free to choose to be what women of the upper classes and aristocracy have always been, "Mistris"

and wife[31].

The Friars were different from ordinary men whose "noble" dispositions were corrupted by the inclination to "long after things forbidden and to desire what is denied" to them[32]. For the philosophical Rabelais, woman was an animal, a sexual being whose "nature" was opposite to that of man.

> Nature has placed inside their bodies in a secret intestinal place an animal, a member, which is not in man, in which sometimes are engendered certain saline, nitrous, boracic, acrid, biting, shooting, bitterly tickling humors, through whose prickling and grievous wriggling (for this member is very nervous and sensitive) the entire body is shaken, all the senses ravished, all inclinations unleashed, all thoughts confounded.[33]

Woman was, despite all outward appearances to the contrary, a corrupted and decayed being whose sexual organ ruled her life.

Like Rabelais, Foigny was a cleric who could not endure the bounds of the traditional monastic life. He left the Franciscan Order, converted to Protestantism, married and settled in Switzerland. After the death of his wife, he returned to France, to his Order, and spent the remainder of his life as a penitent[34]. His Terra Incognita Australis, a utopia of a "Southern World" inhabited by a race of rational hermaphrodites, describes a society where the institutions approach the "natural".

Australis is anarchistic in that organization is minimal. Religion survives without dogma, ritual or

ministers[35]. Meals are taken in private and cooking has been abolished[36]. They sleep little because sleep is "too animal an action"[37]. Life is villified. Death is the ultimate pleasure. After they reach the age of one hundred, they commit suicide[38].

The narrator-traveller, Jacques Sadeur, never saw a birth or discovered any way of their copulating, yet these "rationalist androgynes" had no difficulties with reproduction[39]. Foigny chose to populate his utopia with those who were free from the entanglements which caused such problems for Rabelais' "natural" man.

> Androgyny is conceptionally visionary.
>
> It's not an absolute or final goal but it is a view of how life could be better, free or more whole. It's a vision of a sex role-less society comparable in utopianism to a classless society.[40]

Unfortunalely, the inhabitants are caught in the trap of stereotypical sex roles in many ways. For those who are in the female "mode", clothing is absolutely essential while for any in the male "mode" nudity is the norm[41]. Young children call their parent of procreation "mother"[42]. The hermaphrodites are characterized by the dichotomous expressive-instrumental stereotype which is most generally applied to female-male sex roles. From the perspective of this study, Australis is precisely as "sex role-less" as its contemporaries are "classless". When told of the European marriage with its subordination of woman to man and child to father, "[t]he hermaphrodite, horrified at

such a violation of the total autonomy that was the sign of complete true 'men', dismissed the European pattern as bestial"[43].

The discovery of Australia also prompted one English utopia with a slightly different bent. In The Isle of Pines, Van Sloetten reproduces the "blessed isle" paradisiacal state but this time with four "Eves" for his "Adam". George Pine, who was the narrator of the tale, produced one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine descendents in the fifty-nine years of his confinement on the island. It is a Cokagyne-like existence where food and drink are provided for the taking and even the chicken survivors of the shipwreck "bred exceedingly"[44].

It is a patriarchal "family" in which women have no instrumental roles to play. Protected by the Christian God and having all provisions free of labor, Van Sloetten pares his characters to the bare minimum. Pine and his "wives" arduously pursue the basic economy of reproduction.

Christianity at this time was undergoing rapid changes. The influence of the secularization of thought during the Renaissance reformulated female-male relations from the "spiritual/material dichotomy into a reason / passion dualism" which identified woman with the physical and with the "beasts"[45]. This was especially true in France where it provided a theoretical basis for the repression of female activity.

Feminist "popular" literature of the time deplored

the waste of female brainpower. It demanded that the status and honor which females attained be the result of their individual accomplishments rather than that which accrued from their husbands or families. It railed against the confinement and obsolescence of "contemporary" marriage. Women of the aristocracy demanded a share in the aristocratic male privilege of the separation of love and marriage so that they would be free of the romantic notions of marriage which they considered bourgeois[46].

Women turned "existing conceptions on their heads" and created a female epistemology where feelings, delicacy and love were paramount[47]. The Neo-Platonist influence, which equated love with harmony, emphasized the role of woman as peacemaker and placed her at the "centre of creation"[48]. Perfection was sought through acceptance of the natural world. It countered with a coherent alternative theoretical framework within which positive concepts of woman would be developed. This conceptual shift led to drastically different interpretations of the social sphere. Whereas the Christian ascetics saw luxury as a sign of pride and attachment to the earthly life, which must be removed for salvation to be secured, the Neo-Platonists came to view luxury as an "outward sign of inner beauty" which led to salvation. These changes could most notably be seen in the changes of the ideal from Utopia to the Abbey, whereby luxury and ostentation came to be most positively

valued rather than ridiculed.

Opponents were not lax during this period, however, and they wrote tracts against these changes. For the Neo-Platonists,

> [woman] was seen as the creator and peaceful sustainer, man as the brute destroyer. Man's duty was to adopt the feminine value system; and the best man was the one who did so most effectively . . . .[49]

Religious, not secular, arguments were utilized to keep woman at home. Woman became again an instrument of the devil, venal and worldly. Marriage was the yoke to bridle the lust of the female body. This "professionalization" of marriage and motherhood had the effect of eliciting public respect and recognition for women who preferred the domestic mode[50].

Marriage became a "cult of the child" which led to salvation. Life became a "living virtue" which freed females from the "natural" evil they were thought to possess[51], but turned the direction of woman from the public to the private in the maternal role.

Denis Vairasse D'Allais, who wrote Histoire des Sévarambes, was a contemporary of Pepys and Locke in England and may, perhaps, have been an acquaintance of Margaret Cavendish. He shared a similar fate as she when he was required to return to the continent after the disgrace of the Duke of Buckingham in whose service he labored[52]. His Histoire was published in two parts, the first being in English and the second being in French.

Like Cavendish, he saw that education was a necessary and valuable opponent to social inequality. In his utopia, children at the age of seven are dedicated to the diety and become children of the state. Education is provided to both girls and boys, but each sex is segregated from the other. The equality of education ends at the age of fourteen when girls learn the "appropriate" tasks of "spinning, sewing, clothmaking" and other activities "not very arduous"[53].

Private property is abolished and inhabitants live in "osmasies" where "moderation" and "orderliness" prevail under an "enlightened despot"[54], however, the Sevarambian male labors his eight hours for his family and for his children so that he can "amass wealth to enrich his children, provide doweries for his daughters"[55]. They are purported to be equal in birth, wealth and position but it is obvious that "equality" is only nominal.

Polygamy is practiced and each inhabitant has an obligation to marry. If necessary, public officials will "rescue" a female from her "virginity"[56]. Females marry between the ages of sixteen and eighteen while males marry at the conventionally older years of nineteen and twenty-one. As a rite of passage to womanhood, females cover their heads at the age of twenty-one.

While on the surface the Sevarambians appear to live a radically different life from their contemporaries

in their "shadow" society, due to their communal living habits and the extent of their educational exposure, they epitomize, on closer examination, the thoroughly bourgeois lifestyle of the aspiring classes of the time. It is a transitional utopia, nevertheless, and illustrates the shifting emphasis prevalent in French and English society at the time. Although it hardly seems possible that Vairasse believed in the possibility of seeing his ideal society replicated in the real world, this work represents one of the first where the "reformist zeal"[57] is highly evident. It is not until the eighteenth century, however, that the predominantly self-conscious and socially serious utopia superseded those of the imaginative and phantasmagoric variety.

Although scholars disagree on his position toward monarchy[58], there is little disagreement on the position of François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon on the social centrality of woman to the well-being of the state. His utopian work, The Adventures of Telemachus, was written during his appointment as tutor to the dauphin's son[59].

Fénelon was best known in his time for formulating an educational program for women, and he spent his earlier years as director of a "sisterhood" for young converts[59]. His treatise on female education was designed to produce hardworking, frugal and simple mothers of "noble" families[60]. At the time, males received secular, humanist and classical studies while the female curriculum consisted of

more mondain subjects.

Fenelon subscribed to the Aristotelian notion that the family was the fundamental unit of civic life[61]. Like Aristotle, he viewed woman as essentially inferior to man. With a character so weak, obedience to a superior and a constrained sphere of influence was essential. Putting his reactionary views into socio-political perspective, he saw a domesticated female as a central figure in a return to a male dominated public sphere. No longer would the image of woman be as active and equal with man but would absorb the connotation of passive and submissive.

In Télémaque, Greek images from the heroic age form the primary characterizations. Social position was based on ascriptive attributes rather than on the achieved accomplishments of every individual as the Neo-Platonists and feminists had advocated. He believed that social stability was dependent upon lack of mobility[62] and stressed the "positive" aspects of stratification. He was anti-urban and advocated a return to agriculturalism. In his ideal land, families were given only an amount of tillable land equal to their needs thus placing a check on the surpluses and profits which he saw as leading to the pursuit of luxury which had a debilitating effect on social "progress"[63].

> He wove together his economic and social opposition to luxury with his arguement that women were the major impulsion

behind the pursuit of luxury.[64]

The Mentor forbad the sale of foreign commodities that might introduce the evils of "luxury and effeminacy"[65]. Part of his effort to counter female luxury with its social and economic consequences was to "professionalize" woman's role in the family by making them economic managers on country estates[66]. Once again, woman's social position accrued from that of her closest male associate because in this utopia "it is the husband who counts". In the seven social classes, including that of slaves, the highest honor for a woman was to love her husband and to raise several children for the "fatherland"[67]. Prestige devolves according to the number of children in the family with many children bringing high esteem.

Accordingly, women are severely sanctioned for "sterility" and the shame of it may be eased by caring for the sick or by educating the young of the community. In any case where a woman proves barren, the husband is allowed to take another wife or to have the "use" of a concubine or slave. After childbirth, women are impelled to nurse their own children[68], perhaps as response to the current fashion for shipping infants from the cities into the French countryside to be wet-nursed and raised until the age of four or five[69]. The women create a strong contrast with their "shadowy" counterparts in the French aristocracy.

> [T]he girls assist the mother, who prepares a simple but wholesome repast for those who are abroad, [s]he milks her cows and her sheep . . . brings out her little stores, her cheeses and her chestnuts, with fruits that she has preserved from decay; she piles up the social fire, and the family gathers round it; every countenance brightens with the smile of innocence and peace.[70]

The depictions of historical and contemporary primitive life written by Rousseau, although not strictly utopian in form, cast a contrasting mirror image on eighteenth-century France. As a satirical critique of the sexual hypocrisy, they offer insights into the social position of woman. His "naturalism" viewed the female as "internal". Identified with nature, and feared as such, the notion that woman was an object to be "tamed" by man[71] has theoretical consequences for a feminist interpretation of woman as woman which still exists today[72]. Men looked backwards to the golden age of naive harmony and "elevated" woman as a noble primitive whose place was to remain helpless and at home.

The woman question in France was more than just an ephemeral debate for it intersected with major controversies of social organization and transformation[73]. Its connections to social change are explicated and illustrated in the variety and substance of the utopias which were produced during the period from the late Feudal Age to the time of the French Revolution. The extreme social, political and economic positions of the

utopistes were mirrored in the fantasies which they created.

CHAPTER FIVE

MEN LIKE GODS

What the American and the French revolutions contributed to the utopian propensity was the notion that utopia could be more than simply an allegory. The murmurings and questionings of the utopistes in France arose into the collective voices of the masses as the revolutionary fervor swept over the Western world.

During the nineteenth century, utopia became a blueprint for the reconstruction of the golden age in the present. Applied utopistes produced numerous tracts extolling the virtues and benefits of the communal good life. Followers of these visionaries left their homes and made sometimes heroic attempts to translate the abstract into the concrete. Whether under the aegis of Christian revivalism or secular transcendentalism, utopia was a prominent force in the nineteenth century.

There is no doubt as to the good intentions of the leaders of these reactionary groups. Practical

proposals for their visionary schemes stressed freedom and equality. Faced with the realities of social and economic hardship, however, the utopian reality was far different from the utopian ideal[1].

Marx, who wished to separate his form of socialism from that of the utopians, was cognizant of the difficulties inherent in utopian proposals[2]. He felt that his proposals for attaining the ideal state were realizable while those of other socialists were impractical. This, he felt, made his type of order "scientific" while all others were "utopian"[3]. Struggling in abject poverty, the itinerant Marx felt that the new order would not be one which would occur on a small scale but would encompass the entire world.

Unlike other egalitarians of the time, Marx did not spend much time on the "woman question" since he felt that inequalities would not persist once the new order had been attained.

> The change in a historical epoch can always be determined by the progress of woman towards freedom, because in the relation of woman to man, of the weak to the strong, the victory of human nature over brutality is most evident. The degree of emancipation of woman is the natural measure of general emancipation.[4]

He wanted woman to develop fully as true human beings. But since Marx had difficulty seeing woman as woman, rather than as a worker in the capitalistic and bourgeois system, his writings deal with woman purely in

terms of their productive and reproductive labor.

Engels also saw women as an historical index of humanness. "The female is rather a representative symbol of man in relation to nature" because she is an outsider and not a species being. Woman was a part of nature which had to be controlled by man, and the context within which that contest took place was the family.

> Within the family, he is the bourgeois and the wife represents the proletariat. . . . The first class opposition . . . between man and woman [is] in monogamous marriage.[5]

This point of view is clearly reminiscent of the bourgeois ideology of the Empire period. Women who took it upon themselves to create lives of their own as individuals and human beings were castigated as "unworthy creatures" who were traitors to their sex. They were "moral monstrosities" who, by repudiating the role of wife and mother, became "more dangerous than the most dangerous man"[6] to society.

Compared to the pre-industrial period, the nineteenth century was one in which technological advances had brought a level of surplus which had not yet been recorded in all of history. The utopian literature of the period, caught in its historical perspective, reflects the ambivalence of Western intellectuals to the forces of capitalism and industrialism[7] and to the existence of socialism as well.

Marx pointed out that there is a division within

the bourgeoisie between the intellectual and ideological component and the "active, industrial bourgeois"[8]. The intelligentsia, representing the class interests of the middle class, rationalizes, justifies and systematizes the political status quo[9].

> The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has, at the same time, control over the means of mental production.[10]

These ideas are nothing more than the idealized expression of the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas[11].

Reacting to the evils and excesses of industrialization and the capitalistic mode of production, Marx and Engels, like most of their utopian socialist counterparts, were "a couple of bourgeois men in the nineteenth century"[12].

Turning toward the utopian future as a remedy for current ills, Anna Bowman Dodd wrote her "dystopic" novel of America in the twenty-first century. Devastating wars between republicans on the one hand, and socialists and anarchists on the other, had destroyed the United States both physically and symbolically. In its place rose The Republic of the Future founded on absolute equality. So fair was the administration of the United Community that it created an atmosphere of complete and total boredom to the travelling nobleman from Sweden who serves at the narrator.

The utilitarianism and monotony of socialist

society is mirrored in the manner and features of the inhabitants. The population is said to have "one face" repeated ad infinitum[13]; "they have the look of people who have come to the end of things and who have failed to find it amusing"[14]. These traits are attributed to the suppression of individualism and the realization of their collective dreams, hopes and desires. This stasis is compared to a Sweden which is so barbaric by comparison that men "wrestle like gods" to remedy political injustices and are "still born so unequal that they have to fight like demons to live at all". Chaotic, unformed, unredeemed and unregenerate they are, nonetheless, "tremendously alive"[15].

If the men in the United Community have sunk into the pits of ennui, the women seem to have risen to new heights. Social equality gave them first-class citizenship and they actively assumed the major role in society. Women are everywhere in evidence in positions of authority[16] while the few visible men in authority appeared as "specimen examples"[17]. The strong political involvement[18] of women modified existing political, social and domestic "laws".

Machine labor became the servant of the classless society. The workday eventually dropped to a Cokaygne-like two hours each day. Manual labor was felt to be so degrading that inhabitants left untilled their identical gardens to their identical houses.

Utility demanded that both males and females dress in similar "trowsers" and "cloaks"[19]. The sight of the

> big and the little trowsers, hanging side by side, quite unabashed . . . forcibly suggests the ideal equality existing between the sexes.[20]

The recently vocal Women's Movement of the late nineteenth century is echoed in Dodd's treatment of women in the Republic. In addition to suffrage, she has given them the opportunity to be free of the care of their offspring. Motherhood was seen as one of the chief causes of the degradation of women and was abolished by legislative action[21]. Shortly after birth infants are removed to be socialized and educated by the State.

In this respect, Dodd differs considerably from the male utopistes of the period. State control over the children necessitated changes in the households of the United Community. "[F]amily life", that is, the nuclear family, ceased to exist[22]. The word "wife" lost all its significance and "home" dropped entirely out of the language. Males and females continued to live together in monagamous households.

Cooking was considered old-fashioned. State scientists prescribed, and Culinary Boards prepared, food that was shipped by electricity through "culinary conduits"[23].

> The perfecting of the woman movement was retarded for hundreds of years . . . by the slavish desire of women to please their husbands by dressing and cooking to

> suit them. When the last pie was made into the first [food] pellet, woman's true freedom began.[24]

When Woman cast off the subordination to her husband and her children, she cast off a corresponding Victorian subordination to her servants as well. Dodd realized that the class system was as degrading to the upper classes as it was to the servants that they employed.

But in her haste to "put everyone on the same level", she turned the housework over entirely to the women of the households. This necessitated that the women work a double-day, even if only of two hours duration, while the men abstain from this mundane and boring task. There is no job which males perform from which the females are exempted. Following in the path to utopia as envisioned by Dodd, today's woman performs this thankless and unremunerated task but few would consider it a visionary ideal.

The narrator-traveller concludes that boredom and inertia are the result of the lack of purposeful labor caused by the socialist lifestyle which murders time "which appears to be slowly killing them"[25]. There is no mention of the care and tutoring of the young, except for that already mentioned, so it would seem that it is accomplished by both males and females in their two hour workday in the public sphere. Dodd legislates equality at the expense of individual attainment in the arts, sciences and intellectual pursuits. All were constrained by a fixed standard

which all could attain.

> As accumulation of personal property, in lands or in moneys, and the possibility of personal advancement are forbidden by law, under this form of government, all incentives to personal activity have disappeared. The law of equality, with its logical decrees for the suppression of superiority, has brought about the other extreme, sterility.[26]

Dodd places the blame solely on woman and her emancipation under socialism. It is evident that equality was purchased with the price of male-defined "femininity".

> [She] has placed herself by the side of man, as his co-equal in labor and vocation, only to make the real distance between them the greater. She has gained her independence at the expense of her strongest appeal to man, her power as mistress, wife and mother.[27]

In her reaction to socialism and feminism, Dodd appears ready to exchange the right to full equality for the opportunity to "save" the world from socialism. It was, and is, too high a price to pay.

By contrast, the world of Bellamy's Looking Backward is one in which socialism is seen not as a great evil but as the "great Trust"[28].

Rather than dissolving capitalism through devastation and war as Dodd had done, Bellamy saw capitalism evolving into one great, monolithic syndicate which belonged to all citizens. Thus, the labor of the many went, not to the few, but to all. "When the nation became the sole employer, all the citizens . . . became employees"[29].

This "industrial army" produced goods which were

consumed by all who needed them[30] and provided the "best service it is in his power to give"[31]. Credit has replaced money, and a share in the national production is distributed to each citizen, male and female, child and adult, at the beginning of each year.

The industrial army was regimented and hierarchically organized although every effort was made to provide workers with a vocation which suited both their talents and their likes. Emblematic "badges" signified rank according to the metal of its manufacture. The badge of the third grade was iron, that of the second grade was silver, and gold marked the badges of those of the first grade in imitation of Platonic and Hesiodic distinction. Rank in the industrial army provided the only mode of social distinction, and prestige and privilege were the rewards for attainment of rank. Although Bellamy strove to create a society where the probability of one's life-chances were equal, innate abilities were the basis of inequality.

His emphasis on the economic aspects of life in the future reflected the spirit of the times. As a critique of the capitalistic system, it is a classic example of intellectual thought in its ability to recognize the inherent and particular relationship between capitalism and inequality.

Like Dodd, Bellamy recognized that woman bore an unequal burden in his society. But rather than freeing

them from their traditional roles, he innovated little. Women served the Great Trust in addition to their "maternal duties", once again forcing woman into double-day labor. Work which was "perfectly adapted, both as to kind and degree of labor, to her sex"[32] was the norm for woman.

> The men of this day so well appreciate that they owe to the beauty and grace of women the chief zest of their lives and their main incentive to effort, that they permit them to work at all only because it is fully understood that certain regular requirement of labor, of a sort adapted to their powers, is well for body and mind.[33]

These male attitudes recapitulated the paternalism of the "father who kept the people alive"[34], the state. But "permitting" the women their "exclusively feminine regime" appears to strain the limits of Bellamy's visionary explorations into alternative roles for woman. Doctor Leete, the narrator, pontificated on the joys of sexual differentiation.

> In [the nineteenth century] there was no career for women except in an unnatural rivalry with men. We have given them a world of their own, with its emulations, ambitions, and careers, and I assure you they are very happy in it.[35]

For all his paternalism, or perhaps because of it, Bellamy rewards all inhabitants with equal credit despite the meritocratic bent of the "Great Trust".

Leete deplored women's necessity to "sell" herself, in marriage or otherwise, to men in order to sustain themselves[36]. Woman's economic autonomy was a step

in evolution because woman could now choose those whose solid and brilliant service to the state made them "the only aristocracy"[37].

Looking Backward is ample example that the ideal of equal pay does not necessarily carry with it the equality of woman. Removed from the labor of cooking and cleaning, they were, nonetheless, second-class citizens in a bourgeois utopia. Although the women received equal pay for work of equal quality, their principal prestige devolved from their "responsibility as the wardens of the world" in their roles as wives and mothers[38].

When compared with the two technologically advanced utopian societies discussed above, Morris' News From Nowhere has a decidedly medieval flavor.

Published at approximately the same time and in response to the same set of ills which plagued industrialized England and America, it is a utopian dream which could only be dreamed by a literate and scholarly man. His is a dream which blends the sacred with the secular, the mythic with the rational, in an attempt to recreate the atmosphere of the golden age in a pastoral setting.

The influences of the Greek tradition, especially of Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus and Tacitus' Germania, manifested itself in the idyllic rural utopia where materialism was rejected, social ambition was virtually invisible and sexuality was free and natural[39]. The

ideal in News from Nowhere combines the "naturalness" of Rousseau with the physical rigor of Sparta[40]. But Morris was a product of the Romantic school which caused him to reject some basic tenets of the socialist movement and utopian socialism.

> Morris thought of the New Birth as an escape not only from class exploitation, but also from a world determined by technology. Most socialists have believed that a golden age can only come when the benefits of machine production are shared equally among all. . . .[41]

Morris hated what industrialization had done to England, and in his utopia he removed almost all traces of the damage and restored to the countryside and the towns the beauty and peace which he felt the human soul needed in order to survive.

The England of his utopian dream is static. Having reached his ideal, people are content to live their lives in the fulfillment which creativity brings. Morris' solution to the necessity of labor was to raise it to the level of an art form where each person performed tasks in the best manner possible. Time was unimportant and the flow of their lives was unhurried and peaceful.

Morris was considerably impressed with More's Utopia since he felt that it served as a "link between the surviving communism of the Middle Ages (become hopeless in More's time, and doomed to be soon wholly effaced by the advancing wave of Commercial Bureaucracy)" and the socialist movement which promised so much to the radical

thinkers of the late nineteenth century[42]. He was upset, however, by the "atmosphere of asceticism" which hung over Utopia and with the treatment of marital transgression[43]. Morris felt that Utopia was more than a talking picture, it was "a picture of the real New Birth which many men before him had desired"[44]. There is no question that Morris felt that the stirrings which had begun in the early sixteenth century were close to fruition in the socialist future.

For the women of Morris' England, the Women's Movement was a dead controversy.

> The men have no longer any opportunity of tyrannizing over the women, or the women over the men . . . . The women do what they can do best, and what they like best, and the men are neither jealous of it or injured by it.[45]

Free to choose what they will as occupations, women take pleasure in performing the tasks which they performed in the "shadow" England of the late nineteenth century. Likewise, although they are free to move about from one place to another they seldom do so[46]. They are so content with their lives as they are, that they see no alternatives to them. Progress consists of the restructuring and reclamation of the English countryside so that it approximates that of the Feudal period without the social inequality which then prevailed.

There is no government, per se, but "the whole people is our parliament"[47]. Society was held together by

consensus rather than by coercion. "Complete equality" is seen as "the bond of all happy human society"[48]. Education is taken by individuals when they are ready to seek it. With the time to mature and grow free from the constraints of coercion, the inhabitants of his England pursue information as they pursue life. They are free to choose the time, the place and the amount of the education which they desire. Art has replaced science as the ideal. Each person is free to exercise special faculties and is encouraged to do so.

That so many of the women in News From Nowhere willingly choose to serve their companions is explained by the savant as having to do with their attitudes toward labor.

> The reward of labor is LIFE [italics by Morris]. If you are going to ask to be paid for the pleasure of creation, which is what excellence in work means, the next thing we shall hear of will be a bill sent for the begetting of children.[49]

It was evident that the rewards for the begetting of children were ample for all concerned. Any child born from the "natural and healthy" love of two people would grow to be strong and beautiful whether the liaison be permanent or transient and contrasted considerably with the image of the "dull despair of the drudge" of the respectable marriage of the Victorian period[50]. Maternity was highly honored but not due to the patronizing of the society. Rather it is due to the removal of all the

"ARTIFICIAL [italics by Morris] burdens of motherhood"[51]. Women know that children will live according to their own abilities rather than suffering from the ascriptive disabilities of social inequality.

Housekeeping is a task which is important and deserving of respect. It is felt that to manage a house skillfully is not only a pleasure but a task which is rewarded by the respect and honor bestowed by one's housemates. Women consistently perform this task and also serve the food at every gathering to which the narrator is invited.

Housemates of similar tastes live together communally. Families are held together by mutual affection rather than by social or legal ties, and all are free to "come and go as he or she pleased"[52].

> [T]he idea (a law-made idea) of the woman being the property of the man, whether he were husband, father, brother, or what not . . . has of course vanished with private property, as well as certain follies about the "ruin" of women for following their natural desires in an illegal way, which of course was a convention caused by the laws of private property.[53]

Morris was a Marxist without qualification, and "Marxism—like all genuine myths—appealed irresistibly to his whole being"[54]. His shortcoming regarding the position and characterization of women in his visionary scheme lay not in his ignorance of the problems inherent in the woman question but in his insistence that the ideal state would no longer have to deal with it after the abolition of

private property. This is now known, by the Soviet example particularly, to be untrue. His mythic utopian dreams, however, are offered not as "facts to the intelligence but as truths to the imagination"[55].

As the last of the "true" utopias, Wells' A Modern Utopia transformed the early Greek narrative into an archetypal version of a scientifically planned welfare state. It was written as criticism of conditions which brought the Liberal Party to power in England[56].

> [E]veryone will have had an education and a certain minimum of nutrition and training; everyone will be insured against ill-health and accidents; there will be the most efficient organization for balancing the pressure of employment and the presence of disengaged labour.[57]

The state became the paternalistic guardian of the freedom and happiness of the inhabitants. Wells' concept of "nominalism" was his answer to the tension between freedom and liberty in the modern utopia. He recognized that populations were heterogeneous and proposed that it was possible to maximize general freedoms by taking away those which deprived others of liberty.

Like Plato and Hesiod, Wells created four levels in society. Intellectuals were of the Poietic stratum while the Kinetic were those of the bourgeois. The Dull and Base strata were the underclasses. Social undesirables were exiled to an island and kept from reproducing. They may be viewed as an under-underclass.

Clearly modelled after Plato's Guardians, Wells'

Samurai were upper class rulers who performed the same functions but in a manner appropriate to a more technologically developed society. Wells' belief in a rational society[58] is evident in the "social surgery" of his utopia.

The "surgery" necessary to deal with surplus labor was to limit natality. Machine technology produced a glut of labor, especially in the underclasses, and that led to lower wages. Labor was a fluid commodity and utopians transferred and migrated to better employment[59]. Each man was guaranteed a minimum wage per year, and in order to maintain good standing, work became an imperative[60]. In the words of the narrator, "to be moneyless [in the modern utopia] will be clear evidence of unworthiness"[61].

For the women in Wells' utopia, however, the path to independence took another direction. Wells as socialist recognized the need for equality between the sexes, but bound by the contradictions of the Victorian era he failed to perceive that differences between the sexes were as much social as biological.

Assuring the reader that in his discussions "He" should be read as "He and She"[62], he suggests that the subordinate economic position of women is due to their differences. While he realizes that they will be inferior in "precisely the measure in which they differ from men", he cites their points of difference as being the stress of

exertion, frequent liability to slight illness, weaker initiative, inferior invention and resourcefulness, relative incapacity for organization and combination, and "the possibilities of emotional complications whenever she is in economic dependence on men"[63].

His radical proposal for the economic emancipation of woman in the modern utopia is to raise the act of reproduction to a state service. Motherhood became the "normal and remunerative calling for a woman"[64]. It was then impossible for a woman to participate in industrial employment once she has a child unless she is in a position to hire "qualified efficient substitutes"[65]. In its paternalism, the state oversees and regulates childbirth in order to "secure the utmost freedom and initiative"[66].

> Utopia will hold that sound childbearing and rearing is a service done, not to a particular man, but to the whole community . . . .[67]

Wells cites his utopia as a "comprehensive marriage group"[68] much like that of the Oneida Community. His proposal is radical because it elects to pay woman for her service to the state whereas the labor of reproduction is usually unrewarded economically both in utopia and its "shadow".

Marriage contracts bind the participants and regulate their sexual behaviors. Women may marry at a younger age than men, presumably because their labor market is not glutted. Payments are dependent on maternal

skills. Stipends increase as children exceed the standards set for them by the state. Wells felt that women "sold" themselves into marriage, and his plan freed women from the economic disadvantages of their sex as they attained motherhood[69].

A sexually permissive atmosphere prevails for the unmarried. Once a child is born to a woman, however, the state reserves the right to intervene. Chastity is the rule for females. Infidelity is forbidden and makes divorce resulting from female infidelity ... a public, that is, state offense. Male "misconduct" is also grounds for a female to divorce her mate, but it is considered only a personal offense. The double standard evolved in the modern utopia[70].

Wells recognized that sex roles are arbitrarily assigned in society. He cites the Platonic Guardians and contrasts them with the sexual division of labor in Aristotle's works.

> [M]en are to rule and fight and toil; the women are to support motherhood in a state of natural inferiority.[71]

In opting for a more moderate position, Wells advocated the independence of women and their "conventional equality with men"[72]. It is a tribute to the "elevated" status of woman in A Modern Utopia that they are allowed to marry outside the Rule and remain Samurai while this privilege is denied to man.

That history is written with a "master-class bias"

is evident in all the utopias examined[73]. Representing the idealization of woman's place from a purely bourgeois world-view, utopian schemes neglect an analysis of the struggles of peasant and working class women who labored long hours in the fields and factories of the "shadow" societies. Although there can be no doubt as to the existence in Western society of a Platonic idea of femininity, difficulties arise even when it is attempted to be put into action in utopia.

Patronage takes many shapes. Sometimes it is the assumption that everyone must naturally want to be what one is or what one hopes to be. Sometimes it is quite the opposite, that is, it is the assumption that other human beings are a different order of creature from oneself and would never share the same aspirations. In whichever form it arises, the shape of patronage is the shape of utopia for woman.

CHAPTER SIX

UTOPIA AS IDEOLOGY

Until quite recently, woman as a status group was nearly invisible in social theory. Analyses of the relative status of woman was almost totally dependent on a conceptualization of female status or female class derived from the status or class of the male with whom she was most closely associated[1]. It is now evident that it is impossible to understand social action utilizing theories which virtually ignore one half of humanity.

There is a tacit understanding in social theory that class is sex neutral. It is not usual to make distinctions between the "socio-economic situation" of man as man and his position in the class structure[2], nevertheless, there has been a theoretical distinction between woman's situation as woman and her fate in the class structure. It must be understood, therefore, that the conceptualization of class is one which is based on understandings of the social sphere as known by man.

> [T]he positing of two separate systems is a more sophisticated form of intellectual sexism than the conceptual invisibility of [woman]. The male is still taken to be the general human being[3].

Current theories which meld Marxism and patriarchy, while expanding knowledge of the social system, pose problems for the Marxian model as based on the mode of production. The argument that capitalism and patriarchy are complexly related and central to the examination of the relative position of woman must necessarily be modified for it to have utility in an analysis of the utopian characterization of woman. In utopia, as well as in the "shadow" societies which gave birth to them, the mode of production has changed while the images of woman in the utopian genre have remained relatively stable for more than two thousand years.

Patriarchal systems of control have been present from the beginnings of the genre in ancient Greece and have been perpetuated into the works of the twentieth century. It has been shown that capitalism arises from patriarchal roots and maintains that system of political control as it emerges[4]. There is an interdependence between the two which allows patriarchy to assume new forms as capitalism matures. Efficient as this argument may be, it does little to dispel the suspicion that the roots of sexual inequality probe considerably deeper into Western culture than the beginnings of the capitalistic

period.

> Ultimately, these efforts to understand sex inequality . . . must entertain the possibility that there is something more fundamental about human societies than labor, material life, and the mode of production. Alternately, . . . patriarchy has a material base rooted in a particular mode of production which is not capitalist but which persists into capitalism[5].

If patriarchy is grounded in male interests which cross all statuses and classes, then the inference is that the concepts and theories utilized to form an understanding of labor are neither appropriate nor adequate for the analysis of female labor.

For woman in the lower strata of the "shadow" societies, field and factory work has consistently been a large contribution in a subsistence livelihood. The domestic services which woman performs has been a constant for woman in all strata. This has necessitated that woman in the lower strata labor an arduous double-day since her subsistence contributions are not matched by male contributions in household chores and child caretaking. The labor of woman has historically provided the opportunity for man to assume occupational places in the public sphere.

Woman additionally provides workers for the society in which she lives. This reproduction of the labor force may, in fact, be seen as one of the cornerstones of the Marxist-materialist labor model. This reproduction should offer woman a position of status and

offer prestige and power as rewards for her otherwise unpaid labor. In utopia, as in the "shadow" societies which gave birth to them, this is far from realized.

There is an apparently inherent contradiction in the use of the label "utopian" to describe any place where social inequalities are felt to be the "natural" state of being. Woman's status in utopia most often devolved from, and was dependent upon, some man rather than that based on her personal merit. Unique in the genre is the case of the inhabitants of Morris' England. The social web of Victoriana has constrained their actions because, even though they are free to live as they choose, they lack the imagination to see beyond traditional "feminine" roles to true equality. For those who are trapped for eternity in the less savory utopias, woman's position is solely ascriptive and inescapable.

Social theorists have recently observed that the need to escape from utopia may be even more important than gaining entrance to it. Utopian rigidity and lack of freedom may be manifested as fascism and totalitarianism in the real world. For woman, these dangers were ever present and have been illustrated in examples from the earliest preutopian works to those of the twentieth century. It is interesting that the dangers inherent in the realization of utopia were virtually invisible until they threatened males as well as females.

Each utopia reveals a basic failure of imagina-

tion in its treatment of women.

> Whether benevolently granting women an "equality" limited by their presumed inherent inferiority, or fully "elevating" them to men's status, these writers express a specifically male dream of utopia. Despite the striking differences in the details of their views of woman, all take male dominance for granted in one form or another.[6]

This determination of woman as an actor who is "different" from the dominant, male, image of the human means that no matter what her actions woman is viewed as the negation of man.

While this "otherness" may be seen as definitional necessity, it creates a "natural" and legitimated place for woman. In utopia, as in the "shadow" societies, tasks assigned to woman are those which are not done by man. Even when the status of woman in a utopian society is given nominal equality, it is equality by virtue of access to positions which are most generally filled by man. The inherent qualities and abilities of woman as a class are seldom recognized as being legitimate. Utopian female "equality" means access to male positions, but there is seldom a corresponding "equality" for males.

The assumption that man and woman have constitutionally different natures is rooted in the "inferiorized and alternative" position of woman under patriarchy[7]. To be female is to be a "deformed" human being even in utopia.

Woman is trapped in the negative position and

"exists" through her opposition to man. Embedded deeply into the Western tradition, this dualistic definition of woman lends authority and legitimation to the "naturalness" of her subordinate position. These dualistic devices are woven through the persistent mythologies which wind their way through utopias of the Western culture.

Structuralists believe that the dualistic mode is rooted in biological necessity and, therefore, pervades all human thought. The "collective unconscious" is the repository of these thoughts[8] and their manifestation may be seen most clearly in mythology[9].

The collective unconscious has been particularly harsh in its treatment of woman. Hesiod wrote of the unleashing of ills and torments by the impulsive and curious Pandora. This story followed that of the golden stages of man in Works and Days. The male paradise was changed and spoiled by the intrusion of woman into the world. From the Judeo-Christian tradition comes the story of the expulsion of humankind from the Garden of Eden through Eve's deliberate snack from the forbidden tree of knowledge. Scholars have suggested that this is an allegory for the awakening sexuality of Adam and Eve. The punishment of a stern and patriarchal God was that the burden of childbirth was placed upon the wicked "mother" of humanity.

These mythic elements found their way into the

utopian genre from many sources, but the result was consistently similar. Woman seemed to have little choice but to bear the responsibility of the actions of her foremothers. There is no mid-ground for woman in the mythic sense. She is required to be good or evil, virgin or whore.

Woman's collective destiny revolves around the functions of reproduction. The positions of wife and mother allow woman to transcend the limitation of sex and to outwit the paradox of her subjectivity. Woman is "allowed" to perform the duties of the whore without accruing the denigration of the role. If this results in her bearing of a child, she bears the responsibility ~~of its~~ care as a punishment for her earlier "wrongdoing". The mother role is positively valued and accrues token, if grudging, respect and reinforces and maintains the subservient position of woman. Conventional sociological approaches describe this situation as one of role conflict, role confusion, or lack of status crystalization[10].

Images of femaleness are intimately tied to the societies which produce and consume them. Whether they originate totally in social processes or in combination with human nature, images of females in utopia are homogeneous, stereotypical and ideologically "feminine". Therefore, if it is possible to say "all women are", then it is possible to treat all women "as if" they were[11].

Capturing woman in the utopian genre is to trap

her in the double bind of femininity. The eternal types, angels or monsters, symbolically represent woman in the Western tradition. "Mythic masks" and patriarchal definitions "kill" woman metaphorically into art[12].

The Madonna was the Middle Age ideal who represented woman as intermediary and intercessionist. She was an interpreter between "God the Father and human sons"[13]. Woman is "alive" only when she is acting on another's behalf and not her own. When the Madonna was transformed into the nineteenth century "house angel"[14], utopias of the period reflected this idealized image.

> [T]o be selfless is not only to be noble, it is to be dead. A life that has no story . . . is really a life of death, a death-in-life.[15]

In contrast, the myth of the Mother Goddess which gained ground during the Romantic period was both egalitarian and anti-hierarchical[16]. The Island, the classic example of a feminist utopia from that period, saw equality and dignity as a female trait[17]. This revolutionary myth liberated all humans from patriarchal notions of power and subordination.

Simone deBeauvoir has suggested that spiritual transcendance of the body is what makes a human[18]. The female monster illustrates her thesis that woman represents man's ambivalent feelings about his own inability to control his own physical existence, birth and death. As the other, woman represents the "contingency of life",

that is, the "horror of carnal contingence" which man projects upon woman[19].

Woman as institutionalized "scapegoat", as non-species being, is a residue of the rationalist belief in the "animalism" of the female as representative of the natural order which must be conquered[20]. Images of woman in utopia are consistently of the "angel" archetype, and female "monsters" are conspicuously absent.

One notable exception is Swift. His works were populated with women who were "inexorably and inescapably" monstrous in both the flesh and the spirit.

> Like the disgusted Gulliver, who returns to England only to prefer the stable to the parlor, his horses to his wife, Swift projects his horror . . . onto another stinking creature—the degenerate woman. Sexuality is consistently equated with degeneration, disease and death.[21]

Psychologists have suggested that male anxiety of this type and the dread of female autonomy probably stem from a "mother-dominated" infancy which has "historically objectified itself in a vilification of woman"[22].

Woman is outside the "sphere of culture's hegemony"[23] as much in utopia as in the "shadow" society. Sex roles are culturally derived "scripts"[24] which structure relationships between the sexes. They determine whether the sexes are thought similar or different and, therefore, should be segregated or merged into one social unit. In turn, this shapes the investiture of

power. These scripts are "revealed by the mythical representation of the sexes in creation stories and the behavior of the sexes in everyday life"[25].

Just as ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny, the confinement of pregnancy replicates the confinement of society. Gender symbolism in creation myths are projections of the phenomenon of human birth and contain within them the perceptions or world-view of a culture[26]. Female and couple creators produce from "natural reproductive processes" while male creators "produce people magically"[27]. Female creators originate from within something. Male creators originate from without. The patterns are consistent throughout[28], and provide an understanding of a culture's relationship to nature and power as well as informing sex roles.

The argument that inequality is not inherent in the human condition but is a response to environmental stress is a variation of the "scapegoat" explanation whereby control over woman as representative of nature allows man to assume power over life.

In utopia environmental stress is minimal. Scarcity is unknown. In each of these "ideal" societies woman is, nevertheless, an unequal participant in social life.

The sociology of knowledge posits social determination of thoughtways. Patterns of thought are shaped by the thinkers' experiences in the social structure.

Utopian dream worlds reflect their authors' real social position. Misogynistic mythologies are anterior to the Western utopian tradition, but through utopia they have been perpetuated and transformed through time into a set of values and proposals which continues to influence behaviors today. While utopistes speak of "man", and probably believe themselves to be speaking generically, their societies are intellectual male expressions of what "ought" to be.

> The constancy of these visions through time brings into sharp focus man's often unconscious sense of superiority.[29]

Utopian woman is trapped in the paralysis of "one-dimensional, instrumental rationality"[30]. Whether in the explicitly bourgeois Victorian ideal of Bellamy and Wells, the Christian societies of the Renaissance or the presumedly egalitarian Platonic Republic, woman is given the choice of being "only" a woman or of being fully "elevated" to the status of being "as good as" a man. In every case, with the notable exception of William Morris' News From Nowhere, the male is taken to be the general human being. That this can be the norm where the genre is specifically and predominantly an élite form is evidence of the depth and significance of the notion of male superiority and male dominance.

Paternalistic attitudes, such as those of the utopistes and their utopian characters, are ever present in society and are clearly part of the struggle for

autonomy and equality which woman wages today. For the liberation of woman, even in utopia, necessitates the liberation of all human beings[31].

Rather than taking every epoch at its word[32], it is the position of this study to view each cluster of utopias as the expression of the dominant and intellectual tenor of that time.

> The class which is the ruling material force of society is, at the same time, its ruling intellectual force. The class which as the means of material production at its disposal has, at the same time, control over the means of mental production.[33]

Ruling ideas hold sway because they are made to appear as "naturally right and autonomous" by those who wield institutional power[34].

Utopian literature is one weapon in the arsenal of the powerholders in society. During the periods of utopian fervor, the ruling ideas were not only those of the bourgeois but also predominantly male.

During the early Greek cluster of utopias and utopia-like novels, the fabric and everyday life of the citizens of Greece was dramatically changed. The loosely bound clans were organized into patriotic city-states and in the literary genre may be seen the antecedents of these changes.

Restructuring of the institutions of society is echoed in the perspectives of the <u>utopistes</u> who reacted to changes in the status quo. Antiquated norms evolve

into ideology through the reflexive process and new modes of thought and action are presented in the utopian format. As the demands of society changed, for example, concomitant changes occurred in the structure and social relations of the family. In keeping with the new middle class values, woman became an inhabitant of the private sphere while man acted exclusively in the public sphere.

During the period of capitalistic expansion, utopian writing again intensified as the middle class sought to regain its position in society. Woman as a corporate helper was idealized in much the same manner in each cluster of utopias even though the mode of production was considerably different. In each period, the family changed from the extended to the nuclear form and woman's place was in the home exclusively. It was at the end of the transition period when woman was again accorded the freedom to expand her world and her role in the larger society.

Plato's Republic presents as dramatic and drastic departure from the Athenian lifestyle as Morris' News From Nowhere did two thousand years later. The two periods represent a time of social transition which culminated in an apex of technological advancement. When that apex was reached, the utopian propensity quietly dispersed and disappeared.

During that time, however, as men gave vent to the utopian propensity images of woman became reified as the

idealization of female action and attitude. Utopia was a screen which hid from woman the truth of her position in the "shadow" society.

> We began to treat our adversary's views as ideologies only when we no longer consider them as calculated lies and when we sense in his total behavior an unreliability which we regard as a function of the social situation in which he finds [sic] himself.[35]

For woman, then and now, utopia is ideology.

The sociology of knowledge raises the inference that only in the utopias written by members of truly egalitarian societies would the life of woman be portrayed as fully liberated, that is, equal to the life of man. Whether the writers of such a society would produce a utopian literature is a moot question.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

[1]The actual number of works cited in bibliographies varies with the operationalization of the concept of utopia. The most comprehensive compilation is purported to be Michael Winter's Compendium utopiarum: Typologie und Bibliographie literarischer Utopien. Vol. I: Von der Antike bis zur deutschen Frühaufklärung. Stuttgart, 1978.

[2]Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, Utopian Thought in the Western World. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1979, p. 10.

[3]cf. Robert C. Elliott, The Shape of Utopia Studies in a Literary Genre. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970, and Margaret Mead, "Towards More Vivid Utopias" in Utopia, George Kateb, ed. New York: Atherton Press, 1971.

[4]Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia. Louis Wirth and E. Shils, trans. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1936, and Peter Berger and Thomas Luchman, The Social Construction of Reality A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1967.

[5]Karl Mannheim, Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge, P. Kecskemeti, ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1952, and Herbert Marcuse, "The End of Utopia" in Five Lectures: Psychoanalysis, Politics, and Utopia. Boston: Beacon Press, 1970.

[6]The one work which specifically addresses the relative position of woman in the utopian genre is Daphne Patai's "Utopia for Whom" in Aphra, V. v, [Summer], 1974, pp. 2-16, although some feminist criticism on Plato has produced tangential evidence of the position of woman in the Republic.

CHAPTER ONE LOOKING BACKWARD

[1]Manuel and Manuel, supra., p. 1.

[2]Claude Lévi-Strauss, Myth and Meaning. New York: Schoken Books, 1979.

[3]Manuel and Manuel, supra., p. 1.

[4]The most notable exception is Margaret Cavendish's adventures in The Blazing World written in 1653.

[5]This is not to imply that utopias are devoid of female characters, for they are not, but to affirm that the perspective of utopia is that of the male.

[6]Ligelia Gallagher, More's Utopia and Its Critics. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1964, p. 80.

[7]Manuel and Manuel, supra., p. 4.

[8]Id., p. 64.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Id., p. 4.

[11]Karl Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Program".

[12]Manuel and Manuel, supra., p. 4.

[13]Elliott, supra.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Gertrude Townshend Mayer, Women of Letters Volume 1. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1973, p. 2, Manuel and Manuel, supra., p. 7, Michèle Plaisant, "Féminisme et Poesie en Angleterre a l'Aube du XVIIIe Siècle", in Aspects du féminisme en Angleterre au 18e siècle. Michèle Plaisant, Paul Denizot, Françoise Moreux. Lille, France: Université de Lille III, n.d., p. 17.

[16]Manuel and Manuel, supra., p. 7.

[17]Id., p. 5.

[18]Id., p. 67.

[19]A. L. Morton, The English Utopia. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1952, p. 37.

[20]Manuel and Manuel, supra., p. 15.

[21]Id., p. 68.

[22]Jacques Dopagne, bruegel. New York: Leon Amiel Publisher, n.d., Morton, supra., pp. 23,38.

[23]Morton, supra., p. 16.

[24]Id., p. 1.

[25]Abraham Maslow, Motivation and Personality. New York: Harper and Row, 1954, pp. 80-89.

[26]Manuel and Manuel, supra., p. 14.

CHAPTER TWO SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF UTOPIA

[1]John Goode, "William Morris and the Dream of Revolution", in John Lucas' Literature and Politics in the Nineteenth Century, London: Methuen, 1971, pp. 222-223.

[2]William A. Galston, Justice and the Human Good. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980, p. 15.

[3]Mannheim, supra., Manuel and Manuel, supra., p. 23, Morton, supra., p. 15.

[4]Morton, supra, p. 16.

[5]Manuel and Manuel, supra., p. 1.

[6]Morton, supra., p. 32.

[7]Id., p. 33.

[8]Ibid.

[9]At the time of this writing, Queen Elizabeth II sits on the throne and Margaret Thatcher is Prime Minister.

[10]Morton, supra., p. 35.

[11]Id., p. 40.

[12]Id., p. 279.

[13]Id., p. 41.

[14]Id., p. 43.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Id., p. 44.

[17]Mannheim, supra., pp. 82-83.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Judith Sklar, "The Political Theory of Utopia: From Melancholy to Nostalgia", in Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, V. 94, No. 2, [Spring], 1965, p. 367.

[20]Id., p. 368.

[21]Mannheim, supra.

[22]Georges Duveau, "Introduction a une Sociologie de l'Utopie". Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, V. 9, 1950, p. 17.

[23]Id., p. 18.

[24]Galston, supra., p. 15.

[25]Marx, supra., Morton, supra., p. 60.

[26]Erich Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man. New York: Frederick Unger Publishing Company, 1961.

[27]It might be conservatively said that without Marx there might have been no contemporary sociological theory.

[28]Duveau, supra., pp. 18-19.

[29]Sklar, supra., p. 368, Mannheim, supra.

[30]Sklar, supra., p. 369.

[31]Id., p. 368.

[32]Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, The Social Construction of Reality A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Company, 1967, p. 9.

[33]Sklar, supra, p. 369.

[34]Berger and Luckman, and others, have subsequently sought to refine the focus of the sociology of knowledge so that it encompasses everything that "passes" for knowledge in a society.

[35]Marilyn B. Arthur, "Early Greece: The Origins of the Western Attitude Toward Women". Arethusa, VI, [Spring], 1973, p. 8.

[36]Manuel and Manuel, supra., p. 67.

[37]Jean Chesneaux, "Les Traditions Egalitaires et Utopiques en Orient". Diogène, No. 62, [Avril-Juin], 1968, p. 100.

[38]Id., pp. 99-100.

[39]Id., p. 90.

[40]Manuel and Manuel, supra., p. 15.

[41]Id., p. 17.

[42]Id., p. 15.

[43]Id., p. 29.

CHAPTER THREE NOWHERE AND SOMEWHERE

[1]Manuel and Manuel, supra. p. 2.

[2]Sigmund Freud's term.

[3]Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, The Madwoman in the Attic The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979, p. 5.

[4]Id. p. 6.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Id., p. 7.

[7]Id., p. 8, from a letter to Charlotte Bronte from Robert Southey.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Id., p. 46 from J. Hillis Miller, "The Limits of Pluralism III: The Critic as Host", Critical Inquiry [spring] 1977, p. 446.

[10]Gilbert and Gubar, supra., p. 67.

[11]Id., p. 75 from Adrienne Rich, Adrienne Rich's Poetry, B. Charlesworth Gelpi and A. Gelpi, eds. New York: Norton, 1975, p. 90.

[12]Gilbert and Gubar, supra., p. 75.

[13]Marge Piercy's term, id., p.83.

[14]Id., p. 75.

[15]Arthur, supra., p. 7.

[16]Manuel and Manuel, supra., p. 68.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Arthur, supra., p. 11.

[19]Id., p. 28.

[20]Manuel and Manuel, supra., p. 71.

[21]Id., p. 72.

[22]Id., p. 66.

[23]Morton, supra., p. 64.

[24]Id., p. 45.

[25]Id., p. 47.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Morton, supra., p. 52.

[28]Id., p. 53.

[29]Id., p. 52.

[30]Karl Kautsky in Gallagher, supra., p. 101.

[31]Id., p. 102.

[32]Id., p. 104.

[33]Vyacheslav Volgin in Gallagher, supra., p. 106.

[34]Edward Surtz, S. J., in Gallagher, supra., p. 150.

[35]C. S. Lewis, "A Play of Wit" in Twentieth Century Interpretations of Utopia A Collection of Critical Essays. William Nelson, ed. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968, p. 66.

[36]J. W. Allen, "The Saddest of Fairy Tales" in Nelson, supra., p. 104.

[37]Gallagher, supra., p. 31.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Id., p. 30.

[40]Henry W. Donner, Introduction to Utopia. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1946, p. 35.

[41]Id., p. 34.

[42]Gallagher, supra., p. 32.

[43]Id., pp. 30, 32.

[44]Id., p. 48.

[45]Id., p. 47.

[46]Id., p. 29.

[47]Id., p. 62.

[48]Donner, supra., p. 38.

[49]Gallagher, supra., p. 27.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Gallagher, supra., p. 62.

[52]Id., p. 26.

[53]Id., p. 55.

[54]Donner, supra., p. 29.

[55]From More's "Dialogue of Comfort", pp. 170-171, in Donner, supra., p. 73.

CHAPTER FOUR CITIES OF REASON

[1]Manuel and Manuel, supra., p. 18.

[2]Id., p. 17.

[3]Mayer, supra., p. 1.

[4]Id., p. 23, twenty plays "which I thought to be enough", wrote Cavendish.

[5]Id., p. 2.

[6]Id., p. 23, from "CCXI Sociable Letters", 1664.

[7]Id., p. 41.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Plaisant, supra, p. 19.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Id., p. 44.

[12]Manuel and Manuel, supra., p. 8.

[13]Gilbert and Gubar, supra., pp. 62-63.

[14]Id., p. 50.

[15]Id., p. 49.

[16]Id., pp. 62-63.

[17]Marie Louise Berneri, Journey Through Utopia. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1969. Originally published in London by Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1950, p. 101.

[18]Gallagher, supra., p. 80, More's letter to Erasmus, December 1516.

[19]Berneri, supra., p. 102.

[20]This anticipates the modern urban theory of Burgess, McKenzie and Park of the Chicago School and Christaller's "Central Place Theory".

[21]Berneri, supra., p. 111.

[22]Id., p. 116.

[23]Id., pp. 170-172.

[24]Frank E. Manuel, French Utopias An Anthology of Ideal Societies. New York: The Free Press, 1966, p. 1.

[25]Id., pp. 30-31.

[26]Id., p. 32.

[27]Id., pp. 31-32.

[28]Berneri, supra., p. 27.

[29]Id., p. 28.

[30]Manuel, supra., p. 33.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Id., p. 32.

[33]Carolyn C. Lougee, Le Paradis des Femmes Women, Salons, and Social Stratification in Seventeenth-Century France. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1976, pp. 13-14.

[34]Manuel, supra., p. 59.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Berneri, supra., pp.180-181.

[37]Manuel, supra., p. 63.

[38]Id., p. 65.

[39]Id., p. 61.

[40]Lynda M. Glennan, Women and Dualism A Sociology of Knowledge Analysis. New York: Longman, Inc., 1979, p. 107.

[41]Berneri, supra., p. 181.

[42]Manuel, supra., p. 62.

[43]Natalie Zeman Davis, Society and Culture in Early Modern France. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1975, p. 128.

[44]Henry Cornelius Van Sloetten, The Isle of Pines or A late Discovery of a fourth Island near Terra Australis, Incognita, in Shorter Novels Volume 2, Ernest Rhys, ed. New York: Dutton, n.d., p. 230. This work was written pseudonymously by Henry Neville.

[45]Lougee, supra., p. 13.

[46]Id., pp. 14-24.

[47]Id., p. 31.

[48]Id., p. 34.

[49]Id., p. 32.

[50]Id., p. 69.

[51]Id., p. 68.

[52]Manuel, supra., p. 49.

[53]Id., p. 55.

[54]Id., p. 49.

[55]Id., p. 52.

[56]Id., p. 55.

[57]Id., p. 5.

[58]Id., p. 69, Lougee, supra., pp. 174-187.

[59]Manuel, ibid.

[60]Lougee, supra. p. 174.

[61]Id., p. 186.

[62]Id., p. 180.

[63]Id., p. 182.

[64]Id., p. 181.

[65]Manuel, supra, p. 72.

[66]Lougee, supra., pp. 182-185.

[67]Manuel, supra., pp. 73-78.

[68]Id., p. 57.

[69]John Leo, "Down with Motherhood!", a review of Elisabeth Badinter's Love Plus: The History of Maternal Love in Time, July 28, 1980, p. 78.

[70]Manuel, supra., pp. 76-77.

[71]Sheila Rowbotham, Women, Resistance and Revolution. London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1972, p. 38.

[72]Cf. Claude Lévi-Strauss, The Raw and the Cooked Transactions. New York: J. and D. Weightman, 1969, and Sherry Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture" in Women, Culture, and Society, Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1974.

[73]Lougee, supra., p. 209.

CHAPTER FIVE MEN LIKE GODS

[1]Margaret M. M. Vandebroek, "Sounds of Silence: Women in Communal Experiments in Nineteenth Century America", a paper presented at the New England Women's Studies Association 4th Annual Conference, Kingston, Rhode Island, April 12, 1980.

[2]Karl Marx, Selected Writings, David McLellan, ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Karl Marx in Rowbotham, supra., p. 106.

[5]Frederick Engels, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, Eleanor Burke Leacock, ed. New York: International Publishers, 1975, and Rowbotham, supra., pp. 59-62.

[6]Rowbotham, supra., p. 106.

[7]M. I. Finley, "Utopianism Ancient and Modern" in The Critical Spirit Essays in Honor of Herbert Marcuse, Kurt Wolff and Barrington Moore, Jr., eds. Boston: Beacon, 1967, pp. 17-18.

[8]Marx, supra., p. 47.

[9]Charles H. Anderson, Political Economy of Social Class, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1974, p. 56.

[10]Karl Marx, supra., p. 47.

[11]Anderson, supra., p. 60.

[12]Rowbotham, supra., p. 62.

[13]Anna Bowman Dood, The Republic of the Future or Socialism a Reality. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Literature House, 1970. Originally published in 1887, p. 36.

[14]Id., p. 23.

[15]Id., p. 85.

[16]Id., p. 37.

[17]Id., p. 38.

[18]This was felt to be the result of female voting patterns where the ratio of female to male was 10:1.

[19]Dodd, supra., p. 36.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Id., p. 39.

[22]Id., p. 40.

[23]Id., p. 30.

[24]Id., p. 31.

[25]Id., p. 63.

[26]Id., p. 73.

[27]Id., p. 42.

[28]Edward Bellamy, Looking Backward. New York: Magnum Books, 1968. Originally published in 1888, p. 61.

[29]Id., p. 67.

[30]Id., p. 70.

[31]Id., p. 100.

[32]Id., p. 269.

[33]Id., p. 270.

[34]Id., p. 266.

[35]Id., pp. 271-272.

[36]Id., p. 276.

[37]Id., p. 280.

[38]Id., p. 282.

[39]James Redmond in William Morris' News From Nowhere or an epoch of rest being some chapters from a utopian romance, James Redmond, ed. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972. Originally published in 1890, pp. XIX-XXI.

[40]Id., p. XXII.

[41]Id., p. XXXVII.

[42]Id., p. XXVII.

[43]Id., p. XXVIII.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Morris, supra., p. 50.

[46]Id., p. 164.

[47]Id., p. 63.

[48]Id., p. 154.

[49]Id., p. 77.

[50]Id., p. 53.

[51]Id., p. 52.

[52]Id., p. 69.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Redmond, supra., p. XXV, from Mircea Eliade, Myth, Dreams and Mystery, P. Mairet, trans. Fontana Library, London, 1968, p. 26.

[55]Id., p. XXIII.

[56]Mark R. Hillegas in H. G. Wells' A Modern Utopia, intro. by Mark R. Hillegas. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1967. Originally published in England in 1905, p. x.

[57]Wells, supra., p. 149.

[58]Hillegas, supra., p. xii. Wells was a student of Huxley and has been referred to as "Bacon reborn".

[59]Wells, supra., p. 152.

[60]Id., p. 154.

[61]Id., p. 149.

[62]Id., p. 186.

[63]Id., p. 187.

[64]Id., p. 189.

[65]Id., p. 188.

[66]Id., p. 186.

[67]Id., p. 190.

[68]Id., p. 212.

[69]Id., pp. 187, 196.

[70]Id., pp. 194-195.

[71]Id., p. 202.

[72]Id., p. 204.

[73]Viola Klein, The Feminine Character History of an Ideology, foreword by Karl Mannheim, 2nd ed. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971, p. 116.

CHAPTER SIX UTOPIA AS IDEOLOGY

[1]Joan R. Acker, "Women and Strafification: A Review of Recent Literature". Contemporary Sociology, V. 9, [January], 1980, p. 25.

[2]Id., p. 26.

[3]Id., p. 27.

[4]Id., p. 31.

[5]Id., p. 32.

[6]Patai, supra., p. 3.

[7]Juliet Mitchell in Gilbert and Gubar, supra., p. 402.

[8]Claude Lévi-Strauss, Myth and Meaning. New York: Schoeken Books, 1979 and "The Structural Study of Myth" in Myth A Symposium. Thomas A. Sebeok, ed. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1970, pp. 81-106.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Glennan, supra., p. 160.

[11]Robert Nosick, Anarchy, State, and Utopia. New York: Basic Books, 1974, p. 311.

[12]Gilbert and Gubar, supra., pp. 17-18.

[13]Id., p. 20.

[14]Id., p. 10.

[15]Id., p. 25.

[16]Northup Frye in Gilbert and Gubar, supra., p. 99.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Id., p. 88.

[19]Simone deBeauvoir in Gilbert and Gubar, supra., p. 34.

[20]Rowbotham, supra., p. 62.

[21]Gilbert and Gubar, supra., p. 31.

[22]Dinnerstein and Horney in Gilbert and Gubar, supra., pp. 28, 34.

[23]Gilbert and Gubar, supra., p. 18 and Ortner, supra.

[24]Sanday's term.

[25]Peggy Reeves Sanday, Female Power and Male Dominance On the origins of sexual inequality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, p. 16.

[26]Id., p. 56.

[27]Id., p. 57.

[28]Id., pp. 56, 232-235. Sanday used the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample from the Human Relations Area Files.

[29]Patai, supra., p. 3.

[30]Habermaas in Gilbert and Gubar, supra., p. 186.

[31]Rowbotham, supra., p. II.

[32]Karl Marx in Anderson, supra., p. 60.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Frank Parkin in Anderson, supra., p. 60.

[35]Karl Mannheim, supra., p. 61.

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